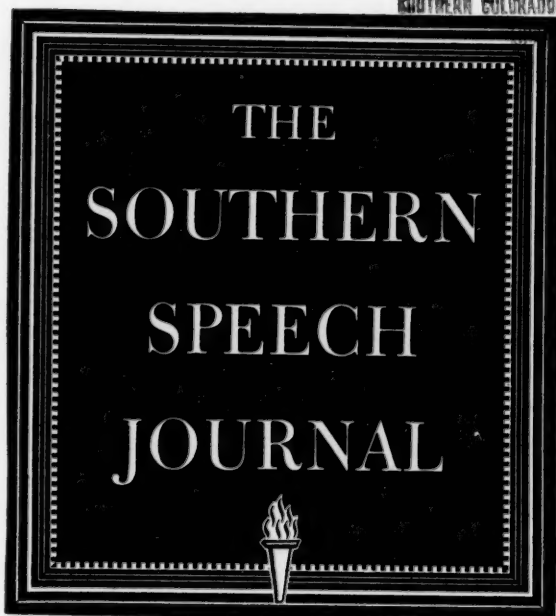


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A STUDY IN ETHNOLINGUISTICS

RAVEN I. McDAVID JR.

THIS PAPER IS A VENTURE into the often forbidden domain of meaning. It accepts the basic assumption that no complex of phonemes has an inherent power for good or ill. It insists, however, that an important part of the record of any linguistic form is the attitude of the people who use that form, and the attitude of those about whom that form is used. Consequently, when two mutually antagonistic social groups seem to associate good and evil with particular words or pronunciations, it becomes the business of the linguist to find out as much as he can about the actual use of the disputed forms. In making such an investigation, the linguist does not assume that the mere recording of the facts will by itself resolve the tensions; he insists, however, that a framework of fact will be useful to those who seek objective discussion of the problem at issue.

The evidence for this paper is derived from the collections of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. As part of the record of usage, Atlas investigators have assembled evidence on designations for racial and cultural minorities, including neutral and opprobrious designations for the Negro. In 1952, during the early stages of working with Hans Kurath on *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1960), I charted pronunciation variants of *Negro*, but discovered that the distribution of these variants was too complicated to be described in full in the limited space available in the book. Subsequently, as court decisions intensified the feelings asso-

Mr. McDavid (Ph.D., Duke, 1935) is Associate Professor of English at the University of Chicago and Associate Director of the Linguistic Atlas of the North-Central States. He has been affiliated with the Atlas project since 1941. The Atlas materials from the Atlantic Seaboard have been used with the permission of Professor Kurath and the American Council of Learned Societies; those from the North-Central States with the permission of Professor A. H. Marckwardt, director for that region.

ciated with particular pronunciations, my interest in the problem was renewed. Finally, in the spring of 1957, William D. Workman, Jr., at work on his defense of the segregationist position, *The Case for the South* (New York, Devin-Adair, 1960), posed the linguistic and anthropological question of why the colored people—or at least their spokesmen—insisted on ['nigro] in preference not only to ['nɪgər], but to the "polite Southern pronunciation" ['nɪgrə] as well.¹ The attempt to frame an intelligible, accurate, and judicious statement led to re-examination of the Atlas evidence and hence to this paper.

Before examining the Atlas evidence on *Negro*, we need to recognize two other kinds of evidence: historical and sociological.

Historically, of course, *Negro* is a borrowed word—from Spanish or Portuguese or both. Early spellings suggest either that it was borrowed several times with several phonemic shapes, or that it developed these phonemic shapes rather early during its career as an English word. The pronunciation ['nɪgər], first cited by the Oxford Dictionary from a poem by Burns, written in 1786, was probably in use much earlier than that. A variety of pronunciations was probably known in the American colonies. Noah Webster recommended the spelling *negar*.

Sociologically, all pronunciations except ['nigro], but especially ['nɪgər], have become a focus of resentment to the Negro press and to most leaders of Negro opinion. As Mencken points out, the resentment has placed this particular variant in the status of a taboo word for many educated Negroes, who refuse to write it out but indicate it, when such indication is inescapable, as *N*—, *N*—r, *n*—r.²

In interpreting the evidence of the Atlas collections, we must bear in mind certain facts about these collections:

1. The responses are obtained from natives of particular communities, about 700 communities and 1500 informants from the Atlantic Seaboard, 165 communities and 400 informants from the North-Central States. About ten per cent of the the informants are cultivated speakers; of the rest, half are old and uneducated, the others middle-aged with approximate high-school educations.

2. Since the files for the Atlantic Seaboard were completed in 1949, there may have been some shifts in the incidence of particu-

¹*The Case for the South*, pp. 46-49.

²*The American Language*: Supplement One (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945) p. 626.

lar pronunciations, or in attitudes toward them. However, the most recent field records from the North-Central States suggest that such changes, if any, have been relatively slight, and have not altered the basic fact that certain pronunciations tend to arouse certain psychological responses.

3. Every informant was asked what designations he used for the particular group, a task which tested the fieldworker's power of innocent circumlocution. The fieldworker attempted to record the informant's normal or neutral terms, then any derogatory ones he used or might know of. The informant's comments on particular terms were often relevant, as were the terms he used freely in conversation. Field workers differed in the extent to which they recorded conversational responses or informants' comments, and the circumstances of interviews varied so much that no fieldworker could be completely consistent in his practice. Nevertheless, these differences average out over the large number of interviews conducted for the Atlas, so that our sample is adequate for generalizations.

The most widespread pronunciations, in order of frequency, are: ['nɪgər], ['nɪgrə], ['nɪgro] (with a sub-variant ['nɪgrəro]), and ['nɪgro] (with a sub-variant ['nɪgrə]). Other recorded variants, none of frequent distribution, are ['nɪgər], ['nɛgər], ['nɛgrə] ['nɛgər], ['nɛgrə], [nɪgru], ['nɪgru], ['nɪgru], ['nɪgru]. There may be other variants, as yet unrecorded.

Of the pronunciations recorded in the Eastern United States, ['nɪgər] is by far the most widely distributed, occurring in the speech of all classes and all regions. It occurs as the normal or neutral pronunciation in most of northern New England, southwestern Pennsylvania, the South Midland,³ most of Virginia and North Carolina, and northeastern South Carolina. It is indicated as a de-

³As defined by vocabulary evidence in Kurath's *Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949), and confirmed by later grammatical and phonological studies, the North comprises New England, the Hudson Valley, and derivative settlements to the west; the Midland comprises New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and their derivatives to the west and south; the South comprises the older plantation settlements from Chesapeake Bay to Florida. Within the Midland, the North Midland comprises Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and northern West Virginia; the South Midland includes the Shenandoah Valley, Southern West Virginia, southwest Virginia, and the Piedmont and mountain areas of the Carolinas and Georgia. The South Midland, of course, has been under political and cultural domination of the plantations areas, so that its speech is heavily interlarded with Southern forms, especially Southern pronunciations.

rogatory pronunciation in southern New England, metropolitan New York, New York State, northern and eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, the older plantation areas of Virginia and North Carolina, most of South Carolina, and the Georgia coastal plain.

In many communities ['nɪgər] is accepted as a normal or neutral pronunciation by the more old-fashioned informant, but considered as derogatory by the younger. This is especially true in Virginia and North Carolina and New York State, somewhat less true in New England and the lower South. To this trend there are relatively few exceptions, chiefly in New England, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Almost nowhere in the South does the old-fashioned informant condemn ['nɪgər] as derogatory and the younger informant accept it as normal or neutral.

The pronunciation ['nɪgrə] is very common in South Carolina and Georgia, only slightly less common in Virginia and North Carolina. It is considerably less common in Maryland, where it occurs only west of Chesapeake Bay) in West Virginia, and in western New York State. It occurs occasionally in New England (three times in Maine and twice in eastern Massachusetts), once in southern New Jersey. It is otherwise lacking in the North Midland, in metropolitan New York, in the Hudson Valley, and in Delmarva north of the Virginia line.

In the areas which ['nɪgrə] is commonest—the Potomac to northeastern Georgia—it is used by whites of all cultural levels, with somewhat greater frequency among the cultured and middle group than among the uneducated. By white informants it is usually considered a polite, or at worst a neutral, term, which educated Southerners are taught to use rather than the derogatory ['nɪgər].

The pronunciation ['nɪgro] is very common in northern New England, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, the Chesapeake Bay area, and northern West Virginia. It is less common in southern New England, metropolitan New York, New York State, western Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley, and the Tidewater South Atlantic States south of the Potomac; it is uncommon in the uplands of the South Atlantic States. Like ['nɪgrə], it is used by speakers on all social levels, and often occurs in the speech of the middle group and the cultured, as a polite form, in communities where ['nɪgər] is the normal uneducated usage.

The subvariant ['nigəro] occurs alongside ['nigro] in seven communities along the New England coast, three on Chesapeake Bay and at the mouth of the Neuse River in eastern North Carolina. Every occurrence of ['nigəro] but one is in the speech of the uneducated, white or Negro.

The variant ['nigro] is the dominant form in the North, except for conservative northeastern New England, and in eastern Pennsylvania. It is less common in western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and New Jersey, and is very rare in the South, with its only noticeable Southern concentration found in the Charleston area. This somewhat surprising concentration of ['nigro] in and near Charleston is susceptible to two explanations. First, the Charleston area—in contradistinction to other parts of the South Atlantic States—shares other linguistic features with parts of the North, such as *mouth organ* for "harmonica" or [dov] as the preterit of *dive* or [wunt] for "will not." Second, the acceptance of ['nigro] may be an indication of the way in which an aristocratically oriented society preserves a tradition of good manners by compromising on things indifferent while leaving the essentials untouched.

From Baltimore north, ['nigro] is heavily favored in cultivated speech, especially in the larger centers of population. North of the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon Line, it is generally the form favored by the younger and better-educated informants when community usage is divided. On the other hand, in West Virginia communities of divided usage, ['nigro] is usually the old-fashioned term, yielding to ['nigro] in more modern speech. In parts of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, furthermore, ['nigro] is apparently considered more derogatory than competing pronunciations.

So far we have confined ourselves to the responses from white informants. We may now turn to the forms and remarks obtained from Negro informants, bearing in mind that the Atlas data was recorded by white fieldworkers, and that in the course of his long and intensive education in applied human relations, the Southern Negro has become keenly aware that his success—even his survival—may depend on his ability to guess the answer the Southern white man wants him to make.⁴

⁴A partial control exists, in some thirty field records from the Gullah country of South Carolina and Georgia, made by Lorenzo D. Turner of Roosevelt University in the early stages of the work that yielded *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949). These in-

For the Atlantic Seaboard, thirty-three Negro informants were interviewed. Further inland, there were two interviewed in Kentucky and one in Minnesota. Six of these records were incomplete or abbreviated, so that no response—or only partial data—was obtained from these informants for this particular item. Regrettably, among these incomplete records are both of the field records obtained from New England Negroes. The full tabulation of responses from the others is as follows:

[ˈnɪgər]: acceptable (inferred from informants' conversational use) 3; derogatory 11 (3 qualify by saying that it may be friendly if used by one's own group, 1 by accepting it in joking relationships); no comment 9; "old-fashioned" 1.

[ˈnɪgrə]: acceptable 5; "used to be derogatory" 1; no comment 2.

[ˈnɪgro]: acceptable 5; "modern" 1; derogatory 1; no comment 3.

[ˈnɪgəro]: no comment 1.

[ˈnɪgro]: acceptable 6; "modern" 1.

We are thus confronted with a complex of regional distributions and social evaluations, in which phonemes become symbols of status, subject to different evaluations on the two sides of the color line.

It is now necessary to discuss the metalinguistics of the four main pronunciation variants.

1. It is clear that [ˈnɪgər] is considered socially reprehensible by a majority of Negroes and by a growing number of white Americans in all parts of the United States. Furthermore, this pronunciation is used by only a small minority of cultured informants: 1/5 of those in New England, 1/10 of those in the South Atlantic States, 1/30 of those in the Middle Atlantic States. That it is still considered a normal or neutral term by many white informants, in all parts of the country, is not likely to lessen the offense; to such informants, a normal or neutral society is

formants consistently indicated [ˈnɪgro] as a neutral pronunciation and [ˈnɪgər] as derogatory.

one in which the Negro is in his place and does not seek to change it.

2. It is understandable that the Negroes themselves should favor the Northern "polite" pronunciation ['nigro] over the Chesapeake Bay ['nigro] and the Virginia-South Carolina ['nigro]:

a. Both ['nigro] and ['nigro] are associated with the usage of Southern whites. Although the Southern whites themselves may look upon these pronunciations as courteous, Negroes may interpret them as condescending to those of inferior status.

b. Conversely, ['nigro], generally Northern and specifically New England and heavily favored in urban centers, would be associated with the region from which the Negroes have traditionally expected aid and understanding, and with the kind of social environment to which they have looked for their greatest opportunities.

c. The Negroes as a group have only recently attained literacy. Like other groups that have recently come to literacy in English, whether from total illiteracy or from literacy in another language, they will likely show the tendency of the newly literate to emphasize relatively artificial spelling pronunciations rather than easy cultivated usage — to pay greater attention to the sound-associations of the written symbols *per se* than to the actual speech-sounds which the symbols represent.⁵

3. In turn, one may understand why the white Southerner often resents the Negroes' adopting the pronunciation ['nigro] as a favored designation for themselves.

a. He correctly interprets this pronunciation as symbolizing a desire on the part of the Negroes to change their status.

b. If a Northern, especially a New England, pronunciation, symbolizes understanding and opportunity to the Negro, to the Southern white it often symbolizes a tradition of misunderstanding, if not overt hostility, toward Southern institutions and attitudes.

⁵For a discussion of spelling pronunciations in American English, see Thomas Pyles, *Words and Ways of American English* (New York, Random House, 1952), pp. 243-53.

c. The educated Southerner, usually coming from a well-established tradition of easy cultivated speech, is largely unsympathetic toward spelling pronunciations and is known to look with disfavor upon the too-precise articulation of unstressed syllables. In Virginia and South Carolina, the foci of ['nɪgrə], we normally have *borrow*, *barrow*, *tomato*, *tomorrow*, *wheelbarrow* with final [-ə], *Wednesday* and *yesterday* with final [-ɪ], *nephew* and *Matthew* with final [-jə]. To single out *Negro* for special phonetic treatment with final [-o] would actually be a new mode of discrimination. And many Southern whites, on all cultural levels, show their resentment of ['nɪgrə] by accompanying this pronunciation with sarcastic vocalizations probably more offensive, because deliberate, than the contemptuous vocalizations that often accompany ['nɪgrər].

We thus have a tendency for the current racial tensions to be expressed in phonological terms. One of the less pleasant aspects of the situation has been the observable fact that some white Southerners who condemned ['nɪgrər] as derogatory a generation ago, have adopted it as their normal pronunciation today.

Here one might stop. But a sermon should end with a moral; if only an obvious one.

1. Whether one says ['nɪgrər] or ['nɪgrə] or ['nɪgrə] or ['nɪgrə] actually makes no difference in the cosmic picture. But if people believe it makes a difference, it will make it—to them.

2. Any move toward reducing the importance of this metalinguistic barrier would be helpful, if difficult. Probably the Southern white should be the one to start breaking down this barrier, because he is the dominant person in the Southern cultural pattern, and the adoption of ['nɪgrə] as an everyday alternative, if not a consistent replacement, might cost him a little rearranging of phonemic sequences but would be repaid by a considerable increase in understanding. Conversely, Negro leaders should realize that traditional pronunciations are simply traditional pronunciations and not in themselves deliberate insults.

3. Even in times of tension, deep-rooted linguistic taboos can be approached rationally, in terms of historical developments and sociological distributions. And so approached, they may lose much of their terror.

WILLIAMS' DANTE: THE DEATH OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY HEROIC DRAMA

PAUL T. NOLAN

A TYPED MANUSCRIPT of a Southern play, *Dante and Beatrice*, by Espy Williams (1852-1908) has recently been discovered.¹ It is a slight manuscript of thirty-seven pages, and the title page describes it as a "Florentine Romance in Three Acts." The alternate title, *Dante*, is given on the first page of the play itself. Another copy of this play, this one titled *Dante*, is in the copyright office of the Library of Congress, where it was placed by the author in 1893. These are the only two extant copies of the play; and, apparently, although the play was advertised for production as late as 1898,² about eight years after its first composition, the play was never published nor produced.

Dante and Beatrice or *Dante* is a highly heroic treatment of the Dante-Beatrice story. Williams makes use of the historic-legendary material by treating the affair between Dante and Beatrice as a conflict of love and honor. In the play, Dante is kept from marrying his beloved Beatrice because of the political aspirations of her father, Folco Portinari, and the plotting of Dante's enemy and rival, Corso Donati. Beatrice escapes dishonor—marrying a man she does not love—by joining a convent; and then she escapes convent life in death. The play is written in pseudo-Elizabethan blank verse that can best be sampled in Dante's final speech of the play, a speech in honor of the dead Beatrice:

Dante: 'Tis her guiltless spirit
Has been recalled to its celestial home,
From its sad banishment upon this earth.
O Beatrice,—my life's eternal saint!

Mr. Nolan (Ph.D., Tulane, 1953) is Professor of English Literature at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

¹For detailed accounts of Williams' career see "A Shakespeare Idol in America," *The Mississippi Quarterly*, XII (Spring, 1959), 67-74; "Bright American Minds, British Brains, and Southern Drama," *Southern Speech Journal*, XXIV (Spring 1959), 129-134; and "A Southerner's Tribute to Illinois' Pagan Prophet," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*, LI (Autumn, 1958), 368-383.

²*Dante* was advertised as available for production in Williams' *The Husband* (New Orleans, 1898).

Thy love hath purified my soul on earth,
 And hallowed it with a celestial passion,
 Whose mystery hath lifted me above
 The reach of mortal sense, and crowned my life
 With the supernal halo of its greatness.

*During the above the nuns have kneeled in rear
 of Dante and begin singing the "Miserere."*

CURTAIN.

The play belongs to the tradition of the nineteenth-century heroic drama that Harlan Hatcher calls "romantic" and John Gassner "neo-romantic"; and since, with the occasional exception of such plays in this tradition as Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, our own age has been content to neglect them, there would be little sense in calling attention to this particular example, *Dante*, except for an odd fact of American theatrical history. *Dante*, although the fact has never been noted publicly before, is the play that the American actor, Lawrence Barrett, commissioned, apparently in the hopes that with such a starring vehicle he could finally achieve his life-long ambition to surpass Edwin Booth and become "America's greatest tragedian." *Dante* is, thus, a play that contains those elements that the nineteenth-century tragedians thought were best for theater; and as such it should probably be given a little more attention than it has thus far received.

I

In 1890, when Williams first started on *Dante*, he was still a relatively unknown playwright. He had written a number of full-length dramas—*Eugene Aram* (1874), *Merry Merrick* (1873), *Parrhasius* (1879), *Prince Carlos* (1875) *Queen Mary* (1875), and *Witchcraft* (1886). He had also written at least one one-act play, *Morbid Versus Quick*, and a great deal of occasional poetry.³ Several of these plays had been produced in New Orleans; the poetry had been published in the New Orleans newspapers and such national publications as *The Mercury* and *Gody's Ladies Magazine*; some of the plays had been printed privately at Williams'

³See "Espy Williams: New Orleans Playwright," *Bulletin of the Louisiana Library Association*, XXI (Winter, 1959), 137-139, for a bibliography of Williams' works.

own expense; and *Eugene Aram* had been run serially in *The South Atlantic Magazine*. Except for such slight attention, however, Williams, in spite of almost twenty years of rather serious effort, had been unable to get any sort of a professional hearing. Even in the late 1880's, Alcee Fortier, in his *Louisiana Studies*, could afford only a couple of sentences to Williams in his survey of the literature of the state. Williams' reputation by 1890 was scarcely such as should have engaged the attention of so prominent an actor as Barrett.

In 1875, however, when Williams, then twenty-two, was trying to interest someone in *Eugene Aram*, he had asked Barrett to read that play. Barrett did and complimented Williams on the work and suggested he do further work. During the fifteen years between their first meeting and 1890, Barrett had been in and out of New Orleans, and apparently a friendship had grown between the "almost great" actor and the would-be playwright.

In 1890, another actor, Robert Mantell, found a copy of Williams' play, *Parrhasius*;⁴ and he was so impressed with it that he purchased the stage rights from Williams for \$3,000. Williams, at this time, was a successful financier, but this sale was the first "important" money he had ever received for his writing. Apparently the sale impressed Barrett, perhaps because Mantell belonged to the new school of actors who were challenging the authority of such actors as Barrett and Booth. Barrett told Williams not to expect too much from *Parrhasius* on the stage, for it was "too gruesome for modern taste"; but the sale seems to have suggested to Barrett that Williams might be the playwright who could write the starring vehicle he needed. It was at this time, at any rate, that Barrett commissioned Williams to write *Dante* for him.

II

Lawrence Barrett, more than anything else in life, wanted to be America's greatest actor. As far as popularity and profit were indications, moreover, he could have claimed that he was second

⁴This play is now available in a micro-card edition. *Espy Williams: Parrhasius: A Southerner Returns to the Classics*, edited with an introduction (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1958, Series A, Modern Language Series, No. 26).

only to Edwin Booth when he and Booth made their famous tours in the last years of the 1880's.⁵

As early as 1857, when he was only nineteen years old, Barrett was on the professional stage as one of the minor characters in *Richard III*. Edwin Booth made his professional debut in this same production; Booth played Richard, a role given to him largely because of the reputation of his famous father. Booth was aware that the other actors resented his inherited favorable position; and, seemingly, although he had the good sense not to show it, Barrett was among the resentful. Barrett and Booth, however, were congenial with one another; and in 1870, when Booth was putting together an "all-star" company, he selected Barrett to join him. Barrett had by this time established himself as a good actor, but Booth was not impressed with Barrett's talents. In fact, Booth complained that "all those half-baked stars such as Barrett . . . require \$300 a week." Yet he recognized that however short Barrett fell of being the popular star of the age, he was a competent actor. He concluded his complaint, "If we can make these damned idiots [Barrett and Edwin Adams] pull together, I don't care what we pay them."

Barrett did star with Booth's company. He was, for example, Leontes in Booth's production of *The Winter's Tale*; and Booth seems to have been satisfied with his acting. But Barrett was not an actor who drew great crowds or who built a personal following; nor was he an actor who could successfully parade as a member of the "royal family" of the American theater, a role that Booth obviously gloried in. Barrett, in fact, lived in an atmosphere of sneers and condescension. Booth was forever making a point of insuring that Barrett's feelings were not slighted by social oversights, and at the same time a body of stories was growing up about Barrett's social background. One such story had it that Barrett's mother took in washings to support her family. Another story circulated at that time was that Barrett's father was an Irish immigrant named Brannigan, who had come to America to escape starvation. Barrett had simply taken the English name to hide his ancestry.

⁵The account of the relationship between Booth and Barrett is more complete in Eleanor Ruggles, *Prince of Players: Edwin Booth* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1953). The details in this article are taken from that study.

Whether it was Barrett's failure to draw crowds or his questioned ancestry, Booth finally decided that Barrett as a star was not good business, and he suggested that he be cast in supporting roles. Barrett refused and instead went to New Orleans where he could pick his own roles. Even though he starred in New Orleans, Barrett was well aware that New Orleans was not New York and that he would never achieve national prominence there. In 1872, therefore, when Booth decided to produce the historical play, *Marlborough*, Barrett wrote to him and asked for the leading role. From general remarks that Booth had earlier made, Barrett assumed that Booth had promised him such a part.

Booth wrote Barrett, however, that his name would not draw crowds. He commented, moreover, that Barrett did not have the right appearance to play the aristocratic English duke. He offered Barrett a lesser role. Barrett was angry. "I shall not accept the humble role you allocate to me," he wrote Booth. "If *you* really stand at the head of my profession then *you* are only my compeer . . . and when Time gives his judgment, I may not after all be so far behind your illustrious self . . ."

Barrett's opinion that he and Booth were equal rivals for the title of "America's greatest actor" became a standing joke of the acting profession. Once when Booth was giving a performance, a man named Mark Grey shot at Booth because he thought the actor was sneering at him when he said, "Mark where she stands." It was Grey's idea that Booth sneered when he said *Mark*. Grey was caught and put in an asylum, and during the course of an interview with a newspaper reporter, he remarked, "Besides Booth is not so great an actor as Barrett." Joseph Jefferson, another famous actor of that age, wrote to Booth, "It is an interesting theme in the future of the stage that the only man who thought Barrett was better than Booth turned out to a lunatic."

The quarrel between Booth and Barrett lasted for seven years. In 1880, Barrett wrote and asked Booth for a reconciliation, and Booth agreed. He was still of the belief that Barrett was arrogant, but he was leaving for a season in London and seems to have been willing to end the quarrel. He invited Barrett to a farewell breakfast his friends were having for him at Delmonico's, and later he reported that Barrett had insisted that he be seated "above the salt."

Booth's season in England had been planned to prove that he, and not Henry Irving, was the greatest Shakespearian actor. London audiences, however, refused to agree; and until Irving suggested that they appear together, Booth had a very cold reception. Booth was very sensitive to rebuffs, and he even complained that Queen Victoria was too much of a "snob" to come to see him. This cold English reception, however, seems to have made Booth more democratic, more in love with his homeland, and more fond of his friends. When he returned to America in 1885, he went to visit Barrett and his family, who were then living in Cohasset, Massachusetts. He was much impressed with the happiness of Barrett's home life, but he discovered that Barrett still had one desire above all others—to be the greatest actor in America. Booth wrote of him, "Barrett said intensely that he would be willing to act without making money for fifty years if by then he would be considered the head of his profession." During the same visit, Barrett suggested to Booth, who hated business, that they tour together as co-stars. Barrett offered to handle the business arrangements, and Booth was to have the top billing. Booth agreed.

III

The several seasons in which Booth and Barrett toured the country as co-stars have gone down in theater history as the most successful in America. Business, other commitments, and illness frequently turned the team into a single star; but when the two appeared, they consistently played to full houses and at double fares. Eleanor Ruggles, Booth's biographer, points to the reason for their success: "Booth and Barrett appealed to the conservative, well-to-do elements in every community, which could safely bring its young daughters and give the girls the satin programs for their memory books." The other actors complained, of course, that the Booth-Barrett team was unfair competition.

The critics complained, too, but on different grounds. The *New York Press*, for example, complained about the sameness of the bill. "A clock-beating art is held out to us," the reviewer reported. "Mr. Booth as Iago, Mr. Barrett as Othello. Mr. Booth as Othello, Mr. Barrett as Iago. Tick, tick, tick." The *Kansas City Star* pointed out that although the pair were making money, "they are for the present nearly worn out." Nym Crinkle, the critic, was

savage in his attacks. Once he reported, "Nowhere but at a public funeral and a public performance of Shakespeare do we parade the relics of departed youth."

Booth was frequently ill and more frequently simply disinterested, and it became obvious that he was ready to leave the stage whenever he could do so gracefully. Nym Crinkle called attention to the fact that although on occasion Booth could act, he seldom wanted to do so. Barrett was ill, too, with a glandular trouble; but since his illness resulted in disfiguring bumps on his face, it was viewed as more of a threat to his stage appearance than to his life.

Barrett, however, seems to have realized that although his present arrangement with Booth was making money and giving him popularity, he could not long count on Booth. Obviously, he was planning the next step in his theatrical career—a step that called for a new play, solely his property, that would give him an opportunity to display his acting skill.

IV

Barrett's disfiguring illness became so severe that he finally was forced to leave the company and go to Germany for the waters. While in Europe, however, he spent some of his time looking for a starring vehicle for himself. He went to England and saw Tennyson about starring in the poet's play, *Becket*. Tennyson had written the play for Irving in 1878, but the play had been judged unfit for the stage; and Irving seems to have had doubts about performing it.⁶ In fact, according to a program note for a 1905 production of *Becket*, the play was "Adapted for the stage by Henry Irving." Barrett did not get *Becket*. Tennyson either had decided that he wanted no one other than his favorite actor, Irving, to do it, or Barrett had the same reservations about the play and had decided that it was not the play he needed.

Whatever the reason, Barrett did not return with *Becket*, but rather when he returned to the United States, he asked Espy Williams to write him a play about Dante. Williams wrote a draft of the play, probably the one titled *Dante and Beatrice*. Barrett then made suggestions, and after further rewriting, Barrett decided that the play, probably now titled *Dante*, was the drama that would

⁶*The Life of Henry Irving*, II (New York, 1908). All the details of Irving's interest in *Becket* and *Dante* are taken from this study.

give him the opportunity to prove he was "the greatest actor of the age."

Dante and Beatrice is obviously constructed for an actor who wishes to display his varied talents. Each of the three acts opens with "lesser" characters explaining the action and preparing for the entrance of Dante. The exposition scene in Act I takes only one of the twelve pages; in Act II five of the twelve pages are given to exposition, but these five pages are largely given to Beatrice; and in Act III, the exposition scene takes only two pages. The rest of the play belongs to Dante. Each of the curtain lines closing the separate acts gives the scene entirely to Dante, who shares it only with the "body" of Beatrice. The third act and the play end with Beatrice's dead body serving as a prop for Dante's funeral oration. The first act ends with Dante, "letting fall his sword, and opening wide his arms, to Beatrice," who "falls into his arms," while he shouts, "Banished from Florence, but not from Paradise." The second act closes with "Beatrice fainted with Nina supporting her," while Dante shouts his exit line, "We all shall meet again!" *Dante* is obviously a play written for an actor who wants to know for whom the audience is applauding.

The last season, 1890-91, of the Booth-Barrett tour showed that the two actors could not long continue as a team. Booth had been out of the company from December until March; and, although they were still successful, box office sales had fallen enough to worry Booth. He knew that Barrett was enthusiastic about a new play, and he seems to have been willing to ring the curtain down on his acting career and leave the stage to Barrett.

The necessity of formally ending their contract never came, however. In March, 1891, Booth and Barrett were ending their season. On March 18, they were doing *Richelieu* with Booth in the starring role and Barrett playing the youthful, romantic Du Mauprat. Barrett was ill when they arrived at the theater, but he insisted on performing. During the third act, when his business was just about over, he whispered to Booth, "I can't go on." He made his exit, and the last few lines of his part were taken by another actor. He was in bed the next day, and when Booth went to visit him at the Windsor, Barrett told him not to come near him. "My disease may be infectious," he told Booth. "You must be very careful." On the next day, March 20, Booth inquired of Theodore Bromley, the stage manager, the state of Barrett's health. He was told that Barrett "had gone." Barrett was dead.

V

Espy Williams in New Orleans heard about Barrett's death and put the manuscript of *Dante and Beatrice* away. Sometime later he reworked the material, but obviously a play written for an actor in the Booth-Irving-Barrett tradition needed a Booth, Irving, or Barrett. It is ironic, in fact, that a decade later, Henry Irving, the only one of the trio still on the stage, thought that a play about Dante would be his salvation. In the late 1890's, Irving was in difficult financial circumstances, and he hoped that another tour of the United States would repair his fortunes. He feared, however, that his repertory was too small. The rising playwrights in England, like Shaw, were not writing plays that "met his requirements. He, therefore, had to apply to Victorien Sardou . . . who readily fell into Irving's suggestion for a drama with Dante as the central figure." Sardou's play picks up the legend of Dante's life at the point at which Williams' play ends; and Beatrice appears only as "The Spirit" in Sardou's play. Dante, moreover, is no longer the youthful lover.

Sardou's *Dante* was produced on April 30, 1903, at the Drury Lane Theatre. It was judged a poor play, but Irving's powers as "producer and player" were proved to have been "unimpaired at the age of sixty-five." Irving, in spite of the poor returns on the play, was convinced that *Dante* was a success, a "triumph," and he took it to New York where it was a "dismal failure." Irving never returned to America.

Barrett's desires for a Dante role and Irving's satisfaction with Sardou's play, even in the face of failure, are not unusual; nor was Williams' failure to find another actor for his play, nor Irving's failure with Sardou's play. Both Dante plays belong to the age of Barrett, Booth, and Irving, the era of heroic romantics, an era that died with Ibsen; and while the faithful followers of the old actors were still willing to applaud the ghosts of their old heroes, they were unwilling to tolerate playwrights who wished to prolong that age. It is, therefore, not surprising that Williams' *Dante*, a tailor-written play for that age, now remains a museum piece, existing only in two copies. Williams wrote a nineteenth-century heroic drama just in time for it to be tossed into the casket in which the genre itself was being buried.

THE MIRACLE OF '48—TWENTY-SIX YEARS IN FORMING

EDWARD ROGGE

HISTORIANS, POLITICIANS, RHETORICIANS, and anyone who enjoys a scrappy fight will long remember the presidential campaign of 1948.

Two months before election pollster Elmo Roper so confidently predicted Thomas Dewey's victory over Harry Truman that he stopped sampling for the campaign. "Campaigning has become a stunt," he explained. "Like tearing a telephone directory in two, it impresses without instructing."¹ Some observers may have considered Roper arrogant, but few thought him ill-informed. The morning after the election, as Roper pondered what Eric F. Goldman later called "the most spectacular upset in American political history,"² he glumly observed: "I just don't know what happened."³

Astonished editors and newswriters quickly told Roper and anyone else interested what had happened. It was a "personal triumph," announced *The New York Times*.⁴ "He did it all himself," added *Time* magazine.⁵ Perhaps a wish to compensate fully for the fourth estate's lack of omniscience partially motivated such generous observations. Yet painful reappraisals by professional pollsters in New York City and Elmira, New York, established that Truman's speaking significantly contributed to his election.⁶ Apparently voters listened and found themselves both impressed and instructed.

Commentators generally agreed that Truman won most votes when he spoke extemporaneously. His devoted press secretary

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¹*Time*, LII (September 13, 1948), 21.

²*The Crucial Decade: America, 1945-1955* (New York, 1956), p. 88.

³*Time*, LII (November 8, 1948), 23.

⁴November 4, 1948.

⁵*Time*, LII (November 8, 1948), 21.

⁶Ellen E. Brennan, "Last-Minute Swing in New York City Presidential Vote," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIII (Summer 1949), 285-298; and Helen Dinerman, "1948 Votes in the Making—A Preview," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, XII (Winter 1948-49), 585-598.

Charlie Ross believed that the "whistle stop" extemporaneous speeches "were perhaps more important than the major addresses."⁷ Richard Rovere rode on Truman's campaign train and noted the President's effectiveness in extemporaneous speeches. Rovere came within one word of showing highest discernment:

Travelling with him [Truman], you get the feeling that the American people who have seen him and heard him at his best would be willing to give him just about anything he wants except the Presidency.⁸

After granting that Truman's speechmaking—especially the colloquial, direct, forceful, yet friendly, extemporaneous speeches—helped work the miracle of 1948, commentators have heightened the effect of the miracle by suggesting that the surprising Missouriian's extemporaneous delivery developed almost exclusively in the period from mid-April to election of 1948.

On April 17, 1948, Truman addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington. Listening to the drone of a manuscript speech, editors wearied, and some of those near the doors quietly left. After receiving polite but unenthusiastic applause, Truman began an "off the cuff," off the record report on American relations with Russia. Jonathan Daniels remembered that the second speech brought "long and loud applause." "He made the story of his problems seem one told in earnestness and almost intimacy with each man in the hall," Daniels explained. "He was suddenly a very interesting man of great candor who discussed the problems of American leadership with men as neighbors."⁹

Cole S. Brembeck, who studied the 1948 campaign closely, stated that the April 17 speech was "the first public revelation of the power of the President's extemporaneous delivery. . . ."¹⁰

In May the President confided to one of the informal memoranda he kept while in office:

Attend a health meeting and speak extemporaneously. Seemed to go over big. This comes of the Gridiron and Editors appearance. Suppose

⁷Charles G. Ross, "How Truman Did It," *Collier's*, CXXII (December 25, 1948), 88.

⁸"Letter From A Campaign Train," *The New Yorker*, XXIV (October 9, 1948), 71.

⁹*The Man Of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 347-348.

¹⁰"Harry Truman at the Whistle Stops," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXVIII (February, 1952), 43.

I am in for a lot of work now getting my head full of facts before each public appearance. If it must be done, I will have to do it. Comes of poor ability to read a speech and put feeling into it.¹¹

Two weeks after Truman wrote the memorandum, Anthony Leviero, distinguished reporter for *The New York Times*, heard Truman speak extemporaneously. Leviero commented: "It was a fighting speech in the new Truman manner. He spoke extemporaneously, resorting to whimsy and irony, using forceful gestures of his arms to underscore his points."¹²

In his memoirs, Truman mentioned the April and May speeches. He repeated Leviero's comment and then wrote:

I decided that if speaking without a prepared copy or getting away from reading a prepared text was more effective in getting my ideas and feelings across, I would use that method on the trainside talks which I planned to make in the future.¹³

The month before the Democratic national convention of 1948 Truman supposedly tested his new technique when he talked his way from Washington to the Pacific coast and back to Washington. Of his seventy-six speeches, he delivered all but five extemporaneously. The early speeches of the tour aroused little enthusiasm, except from Republicans who gleefully counted the pathetically small audiences. However, by the time the special train reached Montana, professional politicians had begun taking an active part in recruiting listeners. Reporters noted a zip in the President's speeches. But for James F. King, a reporter for the *Times* and *Star* of Kansas City, the speech-making had a familiar note:

Mr. Truman has demonstrated an ability as a good informal speaker that is delighting his staff and advisers. Last night at Butte, Mont., buoyed by a big crowd and fine reception, he slammed out in a style reminiscent of the days of his hard campaigning in Missouri when his statements were not freighted with the responsibility of being President.¹⁴

Thus, King, who remembered Truman's Missouri campaigns, saw less of a "new Truman" than did eastern reporters. King's observation suggests that Truman's early campaigns might have

¹¹William Hillman, *Mr. President* . . . (New York, 1952), p. 135.

¹²May 15, 1948.

¹³*Years of Trial and Hope*. Vol. II of *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman* (Garden City, New York, 1956), p. 179.

¹⁴*The Kansas City Times*, June 10, 1948.

provided the explanation for the President's apparently sudden effectiveness with extemporaneous delivery.

Although Truman stated in his memoirs that he had spoken "off the cuff" only on informal occasions (II, 179), he had had considerable experience with extemporaneous and impromptu delivery before the 1948 campaign.

He delivered his first public speech in 1922 during a campaign for the office of judge of the county court—an administrative position—in Jackson County, Missouri. He participated in four primary and four general election campaigns in his native county. When asked about the method of delivering his speeches in those campaigns, Truman recalled that he ordinarily spoke without notes or manuscript and without having committed his speech to memory.¹⁵ His brother J. Vivian and his long-time friend Tom Evans confirmed the recollection. J. Vivian insisted that Harry's only aid to extemporizing consisted of an occasional set of notes including statistics.¹⁶

Although Jackson county newsmen assumed—doubtless correctly—that their readers possessed more interest in what a speaker said than in how he said it, reports suggest that Truman often must have spoken extemporaneously.

During Truman's first campaign, twenty-six years before the presidential campaign, a newspaper told of what was probably an extemporaneous speech. Returning from a political meeting, Truman stopped in the small town of Lee's Summit

and was talking to some friends on the Farmers Bank corner. Some one suggested a speech, another rushed for a truck and in three minutes Mr. Truman was making a speech to about a hundred men and in five minutes this crowd has increased to about two hundred. . . .¹⁷

Two years later the same newspaper reported that "900 of our best people of this good community" of Lee's Summit gathered to hear Democrats speak. "Many in the audience called for Judge Truman who walked to the front and made a few brief statements as to the way the county affairs had been handled."¹⁸

¹⁵Interview with Harry Truman, Independence, Missouri, August 13, 1957.

¹⁶Interview with Tom Evans, Kansas City, August 13, 1957; and interview with J. Vivian Truman, Grandview, Missouri, August 13, 1957.

¹⁷The *Lee's Summit* [Missouri] *Journal*, July 6, 1922.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, October 30, 1925.

The unplanned speaking occasions must have encouraged extemporaneous speaking, and so must have the practice of joint appearances of candidates. Frequently during Truman's first campaign all the candidates for the Democratic nomination appeared on the same platform. For example, all five spoke at an ice cream social sponsored by the ladies of the Christian Church in Grain Valley, at an evening meeting under the street lights in Blue Springs, and at a noon-to-midnight picnic in Independence.¹⁹ It seems improbable that the usual procedure would have been to speak from a manuscript or from memory without adapting to the other speeches.

Truman won election as presiding judge of the court in 1926 and re-election in 1930 with a majority one editor called "so stupendous" that it "dazed even the most sanguine Democratic forecasters."²⁰ The editor and others of Truman's friends believed they had discovered gubernatorial material. Truman, using the coy language of the professional, announced that "his friends' loyalty and interest . . . created a situation which, if developed," might find him "ready at their command to enter the lists."²¹ The developer of political situations in western Missouri commanded otherwise; and a different obscure man became governor of Missouri and beholden to Tom Pendergast. Some Jackson Countians expected Truman to be given support for the nomination for the lucrative job of county collector. He wished to run for Congress; but in 1934 Pendergast, after reportedly failing to convince three others that they should run, supported Truman for the United States Senate.²²

Years later Truman remembered the campaign: "I went into sixty of Missouri's 114 counties, where I made from six to sixteen speeches a day."²³ With certain pride and probable hyperbole, his hometown newspaper reported: "One day he traveled 250 miles, stopped at sixteen different towns and made fourteen speeches. In six weeks he visited every county in the state."²⁴

¹⁹*The Independence [Missouri] Examiner*, June 28, July 8, and July 17, 1922.

²⁰*Ibid.*, November 5, 1930.

²¹*Ibid.*, June 8, 1931.

²²*The Kansas City Star*, May 8, 13 and 14, 1934.

²³*Year of Decisions*. Vol. I of *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman* (Garden City, New York, 1955), p. 141.

²⁴*The Independence Examiner*, August 7, 1934.

Day after day Truman scheduled speeches for two in the afternoon and eight in the evening, and he filled in with as many lesser engagements as possible. In the intense July heat he addressed the farmers and villagers of rural Missouri wherever a crowd would gather: at a dusty street corner, a church picnic, or a political meeting. He demolished his car, fractured two ribs, and bruised his forehead in an accident during July; but he substituted his wife's car for his own and kept on. Clearly Truman did his part to cause the editor of the *Kansas City Star* to observe: "In the whole of Missouri history there have been few such spirited contests within a party."²⁵

Such a schedule must have precluded manuscripts, and the great variety of occasions must have made impossible the delivery of memorized speeches. Tom Evans, who accompanied Truman during many of the trips through the state, could not remember Truman's having delivered any manuscript speeches.

Truman, however, did use a manuscript for important addresses. He read his opening address, which he called his platform for the campaign, at Columbia. He also planned to use a manuscript for a speech delivered at Orscheln Heights where all four candidates for the Democratic nomination addressed "approximately 2500 perspiring Democratic enthusiasts from central Missouri."²⁶ However, a news report contained this significant paragraph:

Harry S. Truman, the first speaker of the four senatorial candidates, abandoned the manuscript from which he spoke a short time ago in Columbia and adopted a personal tone in relating his stand on the bonus and farm relief. . . .²⁷

With the destruction of the Pendergast machine in 1939, most Missourians assumed that Truman's political career had come to an end. Some expected him to accept a federal appointive position. Truman, however, decided to seek re-election. Although he faced a difficult campaign, his campaign time was limited, for the problems of war kept the Senate in session. Nevertheless, Truman decided to deliver extemporaneously his featured address at the opening of the Democratic campaign in Missouri. At Moberly he

²⁵August 1, 1934.

²⁶*The Columbia [Missouri] Missourian*, July 19, 1934.

²⁷*Ibid.*

insisted that every farmer who voted the Republican ticket "should have his head examined."²⁸

Even before the campaign officially began, Truman abandoned his manuscript on an important occasion that is still remembered by historian James N. Primm.

Missouri Democrats planned a fund-raising dinner. They hoped for a congenial, love-thy-fellow-Democrat mood, with Harry Truman, Lloyd Stark and a representative for Maurice Milligan as speakers. Stark, Governor of Missouri, and Milligan, United States Attorney in Kansas City, shared credit for the destruction of the Pendergast machine and an ambition to enter the Senate in place of Truman, "the Senator from the municipality of Pendergastia," as one newspaper called him.

At the dinner the listeners smiled and applauded as the first speaker praised Roosevelt and flayed Hoover; but Stark turned the smiles into gasps when he spoke of the Truman-Pendergast relationship. With increasing anger Truman listened to the Governor. He thought of the manuscript he had written to contribute to the hoped-for atmosphere. When Stark finished, Truman quickly took the platform and announced: "I have a speech, but I'm not going to use it." He then talked, ungrammatically, but with animation and great force, of the Governor who had been elected four years earlier with Pendergast support. Dr. Primm reacted as he thought many of Truman's hearers must have reacted: "Anyone that indignant just had to be telling the truth."²⁹

Thus, when Truman entered the national political scene in 1944, he already had behind him considerable experience in extemporaneous speaking.

"I am not a candidate, never have been and don't want it," Truman told reporters in April, 1944, when asked about rumors that he would be a Vice-Presidential candidate. He wished to stay in the Senate, he insisted.³⁰

In July, he traveled to Chicago to attend the Democratic convention and to help James Byrnes secure the Vice-Presidential nomination—Truman even carried a nominating speech

²⁸*The St. Louis Globe Democrat*, September 22, 1940.

²⁹When Professor Primm many years later spoke to Truman about the occasion, Truman remarked: "That was the time I read Lloyd Stark out of the party." Interview with Dr. James N. Primm, Columbia, Missouri, July 17, 1957.

³⁰*The Kansas City Times*, April 18, 1944.

with him. When convinced that Roosevelt preferred him to Byrnes, Truman worked diligently and successfully to stop the front-running incumbent, Henry Wallace.

Truman traveled eight thousand miles in a campaign tour that went from New Orleans west to the Pacific coast, north to Washington, east to Rhode Island, south to West Virginia, and, finally, to Pennsylvania. On the afternoon of his final speech, Truman told reporters: "I started out to make four major speeches, and I made about fifty-four. I enjoyed it a lot."³¹ He delivered four major addresses, numerous talks to groups of party workers, and a number of speeches to audiences gathered around the rear platform of his special railroad car. On the way to Los Angeles from New Orleans, for example, he made platform appearances at Beaumont, Houston, and El Paso, Texas, and Tucson, Arizona. At one (and perhaps more) of those stops he delivered the sort of speech for which he became so famous four years later. At El Paso he spoke from ten to fifteen minutes without notes or manuscript to a crowd gathered at the rear platform of his railroad car.³² Party workers of Montana gathered at a luncheon in Butte to hear Truman, speaking without notes or manuscript, exhort them to greater effort in the party's behalf.³³

When Truman became President, the demands for him to speak increased enormously. Many minor occasions required a few words from the President. In what a newsman called a humorous and extemporaneous speech, Truman told three hundred people gathered at a dinner in his honor in Kansas City that he had accomplished two things by returning to Kansas City: "One was to fill the Auditorium at Independence, which I did last night, and the other was to annex the territory of Kansas City to Greater Independence."³⁴ When accepting honorary degrees from William Jewell College and George Washington University, he spoke extemporaneously. In an extemporaneous speech to the West Point cadets, delivered from a balcony in the mess hall, Truman told of his efforts years earlier to receive an appointment to the academy.

Six months after becoming President, Truman journeyed to Caruthersville, Missouri, to deliver his twelfth annual speech at

³¹*The Kansas City Star*, November 1, 1944.

³²Letter from Edward M. Pooley, editor, *El Paso Herald-Post*, El Paso, Texas, dated March 24, 1958, to Edward Rogge.

³³*The New York Times*, October 22, 1944.

³⁴*The Kansas City Times*, June 29, 1945.

the Pemiscot County American Legion fair. There he chuckled at the jokes of the master of ceremonies, watched some dancers, closely followed the Harry S. Truman Derby horse race, and then spoke without manuscript from the starter's stand on the race track to more than fifty thousand people gathered to hear him.³⁵

Three days later he delivered both a manuscript speech and a hard-hitting impromptu speech at the dedication of the Gilbertsville, Kentucky, dam. *Newsweek* reported the "long and dull" manuscript speech, and the humorous impromptu talk.³⁶

Although some reporters learned in April, 1948, of Truman's effectiveness as an extemporaneous or impromptu speaker, politicians learned much earlier. A year before the 1948 campaign, party leaders hoped to convince Truman that he should tour the country, for they had noted, reported Duke Shoop of Kansas City, "that the President, just by being himself, nearly always wins the crowds when he gets out among them."³⁷ When reporting of the praise heaped on Truman's speech to the editors, *Time* magazine explained that the praise

was not lost on National Chairman J. Howard McGrath, who had long been aware that his candidate was most effective when speaking off the cuff. He renewed an old campaign to get the President to take a long, leisurely transcontinental train trip.³⁸

When viewed against the background of Truman's earlier, vigorous campaigns the campaign of 1948 reveals little of a "new Truman." For twenty-six years he had practiced extemporaneous speaking on important, as well as insignificant, occasions. If Truman learned any lessons from April to November of 1948, the most important may have been the one described by Thomas Stokes:

There was, of course, no real metamorphosis, or anything "new" or strange, no overnight sea-change, for that was Harry Truman all the time, though hidden for a long time from the American people. It was the same Harry Truman whom the voters of one state—his own Missouri—had known in two successful campaigns for the Senate. Harry Truman had made the great discovery that the United States was just a larger Missouri.³⁹

³⁵*Ibid.*, October 8, 1945.

³⁶*Newsweek*, XXVI (October 22, 1945), 33.

³⁷*The Kansas City Times*, July 11, 1947.

³⁸*Time*, LI (May 3, 1948), 17-18.

³⁹"Harry Truman, Politician Extraordinary," *The New York Times Magazine* (May 7, 1950), p. 13.

THE SENATE DEBATE ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1918-1920: AN OVERVIEW

WALDO W. BRADEN

ONE OF THE FRUSTRATING PROBLEMS about studying congressional debating is that the participants seldom behave like college debaters and seldom follow the procedures outlined in textbooks on argumentation and debate. There is no simple affirmative and no simple negative. Instead the debates are often multisided. Apparently the speakers have never heard of stock issues or standard analysis. A senator may make a two-hour speech on a sub-issue, never taking the trouble to relate his remarks to questions at hand. Even when he is fortunate enough to have interested listeners on the floor or in the gallery, he may ignore them in his eagerness to get something into the *Record* which he can mail to his constituents. And, aside from the House and Senate rules, the lawmakers know few restraints when the issue is bitterly contested. At times they purposely make little attempt to clarify or even to persuade; sometimes they are more interested in attempting to confuse, to delay, and to dissipate.

Often a critic loses himself in argument, questions, cross questions, impromptu speeches, irrelevant remarks, and parliamentary counterplay. And after an attempt to reduce a debate covering months to some manageable form for study, the critic finds himself troubled, confused, and frustrated by the complexity and the verbosity.

And so it is with the Senate debate over the League of Nations, which occupied a large part of three sessions of Congress from December 1918 until 1920.

THE OCCASION

Soon after the Armistice in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson announced his intention to lead the American delegation to the

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Peace Conference in Paris. This decision immediately stirred opposition. No longer under war pressure to pursue a non-partisan policy, his opponents led by Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge bitterly criticised Wilson for his judgement and his peace program. They argued that the congressional election of 1918, which had returned control of the House and Senate to the Republicans, indicated that the electorate had repudiated Wilson's leadership.

In the opening days of the lame duck session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress, which convened December 2, 1918, the Republicans started their attack on Wilson and a league of nations. Some, no doubt, sincerely opposed the Wilsonian program; others were eager to embarrass and discredit the President while he conducted peace negotiations abroad.

The second phase of the debate commenced the middle of February, 1919, when the first draft of the Covenant became available. This phase continued both in and out of the Senate until July 10, when the final treaty was submitted for ratification. In late February Wilson came home briefly from Paris to explain the new document to the Foreign Relations committees, to win converts, and to quiet the opposition. But with no avail, for at the close of the session thirty-seven Republicans, or more than enough to block ratification, issued an ultimatum declaring that the Covenant was unacceptable.

The third phase, the most intense and the most important, extended from July 10 until November 19, 1919, the date when the Senate rejected the Treaty the first time. This period involved the most lively interchanges, the most adroit parliamentary maneuvers, and the best debating of the entire struggle.

The fourth phase, decidedly anti-climactic, closed with the second defeat of the Treaty in March 1920. During these last months the senators made serious efforts to find a compromise.

THE AUDIENCE

Of course Senate approval of the Treaty depended upon a favorable vote by sixty-four or two thirds of the ninety-six senators.

How did the Senators stand on ratification? They were actually divided into four groups. First, the Irreconcilables, about ten in

number, favored an outright defeat of the Treaty. This faction included William E. Borah of Idaho, Hiram Johnson of California, Miles Poindexter of Washington, William Brandegee of Connecticut, and James A. Reed, a Democrat of Missouri.

Second, the Strict Reservationists, led by Henry Cabot Lodge and Philander Knox, wanted substantial modification of the Treaty and the Covenant through the process of amendment and reservations. Considerable doubt exists as to whether these senators, about twenty-eight in number, actually favored the Treaty. Nevertheless, they were convinced that forthright opposition was inexpedient.

Third, the Mild Reservationists, about ten in number, and all Republicans, advocated interpretative reservations. Prominent among this element were Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota, Charles McNary of Oregon, LeBaron Colt of Rhode Island, and Frank B. Kellogg of Minnesota. This group on many occasions cooperated with the Democrats.

Fourth, the supporters of Wilson, about thirty-eight Democrats, stood for ratification. Six to eight other Democrats however were in the doubtful column. The pro-League senators were led by Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, minority floor leader.

It is obvious that a necessary two-thirds vote was possible only in case two or more factions cooperated. The pro-league senators to win had to have the support of twenty to twenty-five Republicans, which included all of the Mild Reservationists and even some of the Lodge group. On the other hand, the Irreconcilables and the Strict Reservationists could accomplish nothing without a close working agreement. The fact that the Republicans controlled the Senate by only two votes placed Lodge, the Republican floor leader, in a particularly vulnerable position if he dared thwart the extremists. On occasion Borah used the threat of a party bolt to good advantage.

When the final defeat came, the Irreconcilables voted with the Strict Reservationists against unqualified acceptance. Likewise they voted with the Democrats against acceptance with reservations. Hence the ten stalwarts, led by Borah, played the Lodge group against the Hitchcock group and as a result came out victorious.

STRATEGIES COMPARED

The Senate was, of course, the focal point of the entire controversy because ratification depended upon a two-thirds vote of the body. But the Senate debate was only a small part of the total effort to move the nation into the League. A great popular campaign was launched to arouse the voters and to bring pressure upon the senators. It encompassed numerous mass meetings, extensive speaking tours, hundreds of workers, tons of printed materials, and thousands of dollars. Individual senators were favored with personal visits by influential men, and flooded with letters, telephone calls, telegrams, petitions, and resolutions. The struggle brought into play two great pressure groups: standing by ratification was the League to Enforce Peace, under the presidency of William Howard Taft; standing against the proposal was the League for the Preservation of American Independence, which had substantial financial support from Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Mellon.

How did the pro-Leaguers attempt to win?

First, they hoped necessarily to keep the League controversy out of politics. It is evident that in the beginning Wilson believed that he could count on the same non-partisan cooperation in the peace negotiations which he had received in conducting the war. This strategy explains why he appointed to the Peace Commission Henry White, a Republican and a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, but he was unsuccessful in that the White appointment did not satisfy his critics. Some contended that a Republican senator, even Henry Cabot Lodge, should have had this place. Wilson, of course, had powerful allies in William Howard Taft and Porter J. McCumber. And outside the Senate he received the support of many other Republicans. For example, during the summer of 1919 twenty-eight prominent Republican lawyers, bankers, and businessmen of New York issued a public letter urging ratification. But from the first, the President was handicapped by his partisan appeal for the return of a Democratic Congress in the congressional election of 1918. Rightly or wrongly, the Republicans declared that the President was ungrateful for their wartime cooperation, and that he released them from further non-partisanship.

Second, the pro-Leaguers employed the band wagon technique in attempting to exert pressure upon the senators. In their popular efforts they sought to demonstrate that the vast majority of the

voters and the people abroad favored joining the League. The League to Enforce Peace obtained endorsements from thirty state legislatures, from the church organizations, from farm groups, from business leaders, from women's clubs, and from college campuses. The President was expert in this phase of the campaign. In his speeches, he adroitly suggested the universal acceptance of the League by sweeping phrases such as "the people of the world," "the great men of Europe," "the mind of the world," and "the common interests of mankind." In one speech he lamented that rejection by the United States would "break the heart of the world." On other occasions he made broad assertions like the following: "Everybody certainly understands . . . that you cannot work this treaty without the Covenant," or "it is only certain bodies of foreign sympathies . . . that are organized against this great document," or "the world will be absolutely in despair if American deserts it."

Third, the pro-Leaguers made a concerted effort to impugn the motives and moral position of their opponents. They represented their own stand as one of peace, liberty, and justice. In direct contrast they implied that the opposition supported war, enforced labor, armaments, secret treaties, and even Bolshevism. For example, Wilson said: "Our choice in this great enterprise of mankind . . . is . . . Shall we go in and assist as trusted partners or shall we stay out and act as suspected rivals? . . . We have got to be either provincials or statesmen. We have got to be either ostriches or eagles." Notice that Wilson refers to his supporters as "trusted partners," "statesmen," and "eagles," and that he characterizes those on the other side as "suspected rivals," "provincials," and "ostriches."

The Irreconcilables and Strict Reservationists were accused of ignorance, misrepresentation, dishonesty, partisanship, sophistry, petty motives, inconsistency, chauvinism, disloyalty, and even war-mongering. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, prominent New York Presbyterian preacher, demonstrated facility in name calling when he referred to Borah as a "pagan pessimist." Pat Harrison, senator from Mississippi, worked most of the accusations into one paragraph in a Senate speech of July 21, 1919: "Never before in the discussion of a great national question has deception been so lavishly practiced misrepresentation so generously employed. Every alluring piece of sophistry that oratory could command, every cunning device that politicians could conjure, has been advanced by the opponents of the League here, that in the country reason might be dethroned

and prejudice aroused. No argument has been too fallacious, no illustration too far fetched, for you to seize upon in your desperate efforts to becloud the issue."

Fourth, Wilson and his supporters followed an all-or-nothing approach. In spite of early Republican protests, the negotiators in Paris made the League Covenant a part of the treaty of peace and placed enforcement of the agreement in the hands of the new international body. It was practically impossible to ratify the treaty without also taking the League. The Republicans complained that the President used these devices to coerce them and to limit their freedom of choice and that he did not recognize their prerogative.

Wilson consistently refused to consider any modifications or any reservations. He expressed his position as "take it or leave it," "put up or shut up," "accept or reject." He of course had good ground for the argument that amendments or reservations could not be made binding on other signatories without another conference. Nevertheless he put himself in a position which to many appeared to be obstinate and uncompromising.

Fifth, closely related to this all-or-nothing approach was the appeal of urgency. Wilson and his leaders attempted to push the treaty through the Senate with the minimum discussion and debate. They were sincere in their belief that delay would result in serious political reactions abroad. They feared also that extensive investigation would uncover specific provisions difficult to defend. They probably pushed this point too far.

Sixth, the pro-League senators were completely dominated by President Wilson. The Democratic senators relied upon him to call the moves and to frame the arguments. Perhaps the President, still the school teacher, dominant and aggressive, would permit no other course. It was Wilson who conducted the peace negotiations; it was Wilson who attempted to convert the Foreign Relations Committee; it was Wilson who interviewed senators who seemed favorable to the League idea, hoping to gain support; it was Wilson who took the issue to the people in September, 1919; it was Wilson who in the end blocked compromise.

The constructive argument for the League was largely presented outside the Senate by the President and William Howard Taft. When the League was attacked, the Democratic senators reluctantly replied, but they never took the lead in advancing the cause.

At moments of crisis the pro-Leaguers hurried to the White House for counsel, direction, and encouragement. And when Wilson collapsed in September 1919, they floundered hopelessly without his guidance. None of the Democratic senators seemed to catch the crusading spirit of their leader. Gilbert Hitchcock certainly was no match for the eloquent Borah, the caustic Jim Reed, or the shrewd Lodge.

What was the plan of attack of the opponents of the League?

At the outset, how did they analyze their problem? Borah and Lodge agreed that any attempt to defeat the proposal "by a straight vote in the Senate" during the spring of 1919 "would be hopeless." They recognized the seriousness of having as opponents "the vocal classes of the community" namely, clergymen, teachers, editors, and writers. Furthermore, they conceded that the "great mass of the people, the man in the street" had little understanding of the nature of the treaty. In light of these conclusions they agreed that they needed time to "educate" the public and to start "backfires" on wavering senators.

How did they attempt to cope with this situation? First, the Irreconcilables and the Strict Reservationists naturally adopted the strategy of delay. They purposely prolonged the debate, instituted the tedious process of proposing amendments and reservations, and dragged out the hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from July 28 until September 12. This strategy gave them time to organize the League for the Preservation of American Independence to build popular support, to nullify the pro-Leaguers' bandwagon and urgency appeals, and to launch a campaign capable of combatting that of the League to Enforce Peace.

Second, they wooed several disgruntled groups who found specific parts of the treaty distasteful. They were able to make use of the Irish-Americans, the German-Americans, the Chinese sympathizers, the Anglophobes, the isolationists of the Middle West, the racists of the South, the anti-Catholic element, and even the relatives of troops stationed in Siberia. In the Senate they made many comparatively minor forays upon specific sections of the Treaty, denouncing for example the Shantung Settlement, secret diplomacy, the Irish settlement, the dangers of domination by the colored races, interference in domestic affairs, the possibility of giving the Pope too much influence, and the creating of a superstate. These

tangential attacks brought unity and financial support from the hyphen and dissatisfied groups.

Third, the anti-Leaguers built their principal appeals around certain revered, emotionally loaded symbols or stereotypes. Many of these appeals are packed into one newspaper advertisement which reads as follows:

Americans Awake!

Shall We Bind Ourselves to the War Breeding Covenant?

It Impairs American Sovereignty!

Surrenders the Monroe Doctrine!

Flouts Washington's Warning!

Entangles Us in European and Asiatic Intrigues!

Sends Our Boys to Fight Throughout the World by Order of a
League!

The League opponents developed the analogy between the League of Nations and the Holy Alliance; they argued that the League constituted an "entangling alliance," that it was contrary to the advice of Washington, that it destroyed the Monroe Doctrine, and that internationalism would weaken Americanism.

Fourth, within the Senate Borah and the Irreconcilables took the offensive in the debate. In direct contrast to the pro-League approach which dictated the presenting of the constructive argument to popular audiences, Borah, Lodge, and others presented the negative constructive argument on the Senate floor. Often the Irreconcilables found their motivation to speak in the efforts of persons appearing on the public platform. Many of Borah's speeches, for example, were made in direct answer to speeches of William Howard Taft, or press releases of the League to Enforce Peace. And so it was with other League opponents.

The anti-League senators from the first stayed on the offensive. The Democratic senators always hoping to avoid making the issue a political one held back. Furthermore, Wilson apparently did not take his Senate leaders into his confidence on many issues. They could only surmise his position by his idealistic phrases contained in his wartime speeches and in the Fourteen Points. The League opponents could attack what they surmised would be Wilson's position; his supporters necessarily had to know what his stand would be before they could defend it.

SUMMARY

In summary, why did the Senate reject the League of Nations? First, President Wilson overestimated his strength and influence with the Senate and his persuasiveness with the general public. His plea for the return of a Democratic majority in 1918 made ineffective his attempt to keep the issue out of politics. The idealist and professor forgot the necessity of being a politician.

Second, by his uncompromising attitude and obstinacy, Wilson made it difficult for his supporters to win in the Senate. Furthermore, he provided his leaders with no alternative for complete rejection. The all-or-nothing technique was probably a political mistake.

Third, the League actually had no powerful advocate on the floor of the Senate capable of matching the eloquence or parliamentary tactics of the opposition. Most Democratic senators seemingly felt that they could add nothing to what Wilson and Taft had said elsewhere. Most of them were unable to match the idealism and moral fervor of Wilson or to suggest the moral uplift of the new international order. At times they seemed almost timid, hesitant, and uncertain of their position. Only John Sharp Williams, senator from Mississippi, was able to hold his own with Borah and other League opponents. But many of his speeches were extemporaneous and even impromptu. Nevertheless, his interchanges with Borah are some of the finest in the entire debate. Other Democrats demonstrated little understanding of how to cope with the anti-leaguers. One Democratic senator with the zeal and personality of Wilson might have spelled the difference between victory and defeat. But Hitchcock, the minority leader, was often befuddled and confused. He was incapable of uniting a solid front against attack.

Fourth, at the heart of this debate was a fundamental disagreement over the continued participation in affairs abroad, that is, over forsaking the traditional policy of isolation. The distrust of the European politicians and the dissatisfaction with maintaining American forces on foreign soil were widely held even among the Democrats. To explain the opposition to the League simply as a political device or as a shrewd connivance to discredit Wilson is an over-simplification which ignores the prevailing traditional American attitudes. With the war over, Americans wanted to return to to what Warren Harding later characterized as "normalcy."

TOWN-AND-GOWN THEATRE

PAUL L. SOPER

WHY SHOULD A COLLEGE or university theatre be operated separately from community theatre? If the city in which a university¹ is located is large enough to support a community theatre, practically every consideration favors a combined operation. At least this conclusion is borne out by my own experience. And more and more university theatre directors seem to be coming to this view.

The advantages of a town-and-gown theatre are substantial:

1. A joint program permits the members of the university theatre staff to increase their productiveness.

Through the building of a reservoir of trained community talent to supplement continually changing student personnel, more and better plays may be produced. The inter-action of one set of circumstances upon another, in this case, creates a highly cumulative effect; more and better plays mean more spectators; more spectators mean more income and more player interest and training, which lead to still greater audience support, and in turn still more and better trained actors. Theoretically, this chain of results may extend to the practical limit of public response.

2. Community players usually perform better by working with the trained directors and other personnel usually supplied, in a joint program, from the university staff.

As often as not, in community theatre groups, many potentially fine players, and technical workers as well, are discouraged, frustrated, and otherwise limited to semi-effectiveness by inexpert direction, lax group discipline, and low cast morale. The effect of such a condition is especially costly to the group, since the difference in audience response between a mediocre and a thoroughly impressive performance is enormous. The effect upon the players is also especially regrettable, since most of them *want* good direc-

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¹The term *university* will, as generally used in this article, refer to any institution of higher learning, whether college or university.

tion, *want* to be told clearly and intelligently what to do—where and how to move, how to interpret lines, pick up cues, and establish a character. Most of them *want* adequate rehearsal schedules, *want* seriousness of purpose and effort from fellow cast members. For they want their own and the total performance to be effective, successful, admired. The discipline of trained university personnel can therefore effect a substantial transformation of the quality of community player performance, and attract more and better community talent than would otherwise be available.

3. Since the typical community theatre group has only makeshift facilities, it can benefit greatly by working jointly with a university in its theatre plant.

Some universities, of course, have no more nearly adequate theatre facilities than do most town groups. But when this is so, a combining of forces may be the best or only means of securing a suitable plant. This is what happened at Knoxville when the University of Tennessee Theatre staff joined with townspeople to erect the Carousel Theatre.

4. The expansion of university theatre activity made possible through the use of townspeople may more than offset the disadvantage—from the educational point of view—of students sharing acting roles with non-students.

Since the inception of the Carousel Theatre, three times as many roles have been played by students annually as was the case under separate university theatre operation. Moreover, through the wider range of plays and roles offered, more appropriate and effective casting has been possible. Further, playing with mature players from the community is beneficial to students (although I do not recommend casting strictly according to players' age groups).

5. A joint theatre program promotes better relations between university and community.

It removes the threat of abrasive ill-will between town and campus groups, in such matters as competing for play selection priorities, production dates, acting talent and audience support. Harmful rivalries do not always or necessarily occur, but they often do, and unified control permits over-all planning—of play offerings, promotion methods and schedules, performance dates, and use of available talent and facilities.

Effective community theatre is hampered not so much by the scarcity as by the plethora of local theatre organizations. For the urge of the American people to organize something is prodigious—a propensity that has been called a national disease. In every town there are eagerly energetic souls whose “inner drives” can be gratified only by finding a cause, having an organizational meeting, and electing a president, secretary, and treasurer. Among the many civic possibilities, play producing groups rank high in glamour. For perhaps half the population fancy themselves as actors and will welcome the opportunity afforded by an organization that will sell tickets to their fellow townsmen to watch them act.

It is soon discovered, however, that play producing also ranks high in demands upon time, energy, perseverance, and specially trained, disciplined talent. As a result, the prolific rate of enthusiastic burgeoning of theatre groups is nearly equalled by their mortality rate. And many of the surviving groups do a disservice to the cause of theatre through shoddy performances which drive disappointed customers back to fireside comfort and TV Westerns.

It seems to be a safe general rule that the greater the fragmentation of local theatre units, the lower the over-all quality of performances. In a university town or city, a unifying and stabilizing core of discipline and training may be supplied by a university theatre staff working together with townspeople. There is nothing inappropriate in this, since in this era of adult education it is no longer a general policy of universities to isolate themselves from the life of their communities. We have a motto relevant to this at the University of Tennessee: “The state is our campus.”

Now, how may a town-and-gown theatre be set up? Admittedly delicate adjustments are required, especially if there is an active community group at the time a combination program is undertaken. If the community group has adequate facilities and a competent director (or directors) of its own, it will probably not be interested. But, as has been observed, this is rarely the case, except in the largest cities. Typically, a projected joint program will be welcomed by the community. And in the initiating and setting up of the program the university theatre staff are ordinarily expected to take the lead.

In the organizing of the Carousel Theatre two main principles were observed, which are recommended for consideration by university personnel embarking on a similar venture:

1. Final decisions on policies and financing should rest with the university staff.
2. A wide range of participation and advisory privileges should be given to community members.

The first of these principles is ordinarily required by the fact that university administrations cannot surrender jurisdiction over personnel and physical plant. As employers of theatre staff members, they cannot be *bound* by directives from a joint theatre board, for instance, composed in large part of community members. Similarly, theatre revenues and disbursements must be handled through a regular university channel such as a student activity or academic department account.

It may appear that this far-reaching principle of university control makes a genuinely *joint* theatre program impossible. It cannot be denied that factors of university control, if emphasized, may cause annoyance to community members. But this need not be so if the second and counter-balancing principle is actively applied. The essential condition in a joint group (as it is indispensable in any theatre group) is a friendly working together toward a common objective. In this connection, I strongly believe in keeping organization rules and procedures at a bare minimum. For amateur theatre workers are volunteers, not draftees. They hate regimentation and enjoy informality. Moreover, the continually varying demands of theatre operations require flexibility rather than rigidity.

Nevertheless, something in the nature of an advisory board of directors is needed, and I recommend that community members comprise more than fifty per cent of its membership. The Carousel Theatre has such a board, composed, in addition to eight ex-officio members from the University Theatre Staff, of twenty elected members—sixteen from the community, and four from the University faculty. Elected members serve four-year terms, one-fourth being replaced each year, and no one is eligible for re-election until having been off the board for at least two years. We encourage election of people who make for a good combination of community leaders and intelligent, devoted theatre workers.

We find it profitable, both for morale and efficient operation, to welcome discussion by the board of *all* matters of policy and procedure, including those regarding which final decisions must rest with the University. And reports are regularly presented to the board on

revenues and expenditures, production plans and results, personnel, promotion procedures, and so on.

Except for the advisory board, membership in the Carousel Theatre is entirely free and open to all students and townspeople alike. It is simply automatic and taken for granted from the moment when a person commences to participate, either in an acting role or on any committee or in any capacity in any department of the theatre. Casting tryouts are open to all students and townspeople, and all interested persons are encouraged to work together, without restriction, in technical, promotional, and all other aspects of play production.

Under these general rules of procedure, we have arrived, through trial and error, at numerous items of specific practice. For example, we assiduously avoid anything like a star system, shun ritualistic recognition of merit by "Oscar" awards and the like, never cast people on any arbitrary or irrelevant basis such as seniority, try to give students and townspeople approximately equivalent acting opportunities in any one season, discourage participation of people inclined to be disruptive, avoid cumbersome chains of command in production procedures, maintain direct, informal contacts between directors and their crews and cast, but make it unmistakable that the play director's control over his production is absolute.

Although play selection is discussed in a general way by the advisory board, each of the four play directors selects his own plays, subject only to considerations of over-all season balance. To date, the four directors have without exception worked out amicable agreements on this matter.

Incidentally, we have never, in the Carousel Theatre, been able to adhere entirely to a list of plays announced at the opening of a given season. Too many changing circumstances—*e.g.*, cast availabilities, financial considerations, new play releases or restrictions—alter our choices. This defection from what is supposed to be a sound principle continued to disturb our consciences until we finally recognized that, for us, it is a bad principle because in our circumstances it is simply not workable.

A larger question affecting play offerings must be faced, however, by the university theatre undertaking a joint program with townspeople. Is the university going to present all of its plays under the joint arrangement? Or is it going to continue a separate uni-

versity series? The latter course may be advisable if the university theatre wishes to offer many "educational" productions not fully appropriate or welcome in community theatre—plays of classical, historical, or experimental interest.

We have kept the separate educational program at the University of Tennessee. It consists of an annual series of three plays of special distinction, subsidized from University funds, and promoted in part by the English faculty in connection with the study of plays in their classes. Productions of the past three years under this plan have included: *Saint Joan*, *The Father*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *The Crucible*, *Desire under the Elms*, Sophocles' *Antigone*, *Billy Budd*, *Arms and the Man*, and *The Adding Machine*.

In contrast, the offerings of the 1958-59 winter season of the Carousel Theatre were: *Visit to a Small Planet*, *Inherit the Wind*, *Shadow and Substance*, *Life with Father*, and *The Second Man*. While some of the plays offered in each series might have been satisfactory in the other, the overall difference in character is considerable. And our summer season offerings in the Carousel are generally more "popular" in character than are the winter offerings. Last summer we produced *Teahouse of the August Moon*, *Our Town*, *John Loves Mary*, *Picnic*, and *The Reluctant Debutante*.

I am not pressing the point, however, that it is impossible to work out a reasonably satisfactory joint program covering *all* of the offerings for campus and community. And I certainly do not wish to leave the impression that *Antigone*, *The Adding Machine*, or *Desire under the Elms*, for instance, cannot be enjoyed by many townspeople.

In localities where no proscenium-type facility is available for a joint program, I recommend arena staging as a satisfactory alternative. This was the plan hit upon in Knoxville nine years ago which resulted in the Carousel Theatre. For there was no adequate proscenium theatre sufficiently available to us, either in the city or on the University of Tennessee campus. As a start, members of the University Theatre Staff and interested townspeople set up a summer season of arena-style productions in a tent specially designed for the purpose. At the conclusion of this season, we decided, on the basis of public response and low production and building costs of arena staging, to plan and finance a permanent arena theatre building, to be operated as a completely self-supporting unit under

the joint jurisdiction of the University and community. Funds were raised through a loan from the University and local contributions, and the central unit of the theatre was completed in time to open a summer season of plays in June, 1952.

Operations from that date to the present have grossed a third of a million dollars (approximately \$45,000 annually), and netted a plant investment and surplus of \$125,000. Financial data are not in themselves important, but the tremendous impetus given by this joint program to theatre-going in the Knoxville area is indicated by the fact that, prior to Carousel operations, annual revenues under separate University and community programs never exceeded \$5,000 (four-fifths being from the University Theatre).

The point here is not that the Carousel Theatre program is all that it should or can be. For in a community of two hundred thousand inhabitants, no single production has yet shown to more than 5,000 people. I have endeavored, instead, to illustrate that even a completely self-supporting organization may, by marshalling the talents of both town and campus, grow and prosper far beyond the normal limits of a solely university enterprise.

I have also tried to show that a joint operation is so potentially beneficial, from just about every point of view, that it merits consideration by the theatre personnel in more colleges and universities.

THE STUDY OF MASTERPIECES OF PUBLIC ADDRESS

WILMER A. LINKUGEL AND RICHARD JOHANNESSEN

THIS ARTICLE IS CONCERNED with the study of speeches, not the general academic discipline of speech. By the study of speeches, we mean the study of great oral literature delivered by leading historical figures. Such study usually occurs in courses entitled "History and Criticism of American Public Address," "Masterpieces of Public Address," or something similar. The study of great speakers is a useful and defensible practice, but in this article we are not concerned with the study of speakers *per se*. Speakers interest us as the producers of masterpieces of public address. We are aware of the importance of the man, the place, and the time in public address; however, we wish to make the speech the focal point.

The study of speech masterpieces is not a twentieth century development, but an age-old practice. Leading Greek rhetorical philosophers never questioned the value of studying texts of speeches given by great orators. Isocrates, in his school of rhetoric, used the study of speeches as one of his principal teaching devices. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is analytical in that he arrived at his rhetorical principles through intensive study of the speeches of leading orators, both of his time and earlier. His *Rhetoric* reflects this procedure. For example, in his topics or lines of argument, he uses citations from speeches to illustrate and clarify his rhetorical theory.¹ Even Plato, the great ancient critic of rhetoric, uses a speech model to demonstrate his point in the *Phaedrus*. Cicero, the greatest of the Roman orators and himself an assiduous student of speeches, advocated the study of Greek and Roman speech models to all aspiring orators. A later noted Roman educator and rhetorician, Quintilian, was even more specific in his advocacy of studying models. In his *De Institutione Oratoria*, after discussing

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¹Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Rhys Roberts, (New York, 1954), 142-155.

various Greek and Roman orators, he declared, "It is from these and other authors worthy of our study that we must draw our stock of words, the variety of our figures and our methods of composition . . ." ² Seneca advised his sons, "My boys . . . the more models you study, the more progress you will make in eloquence." ³

The study of speeches did not terminate with classical times. Clark tells us that from the time of Isocrates in 390 B.C. to the time of St. Augustine in 400 A.D., the study of speech models was undeviating. He observes that during this period the student "was constantly urged to imitate the excellences of his models . . . and was constantly urged to avoid their faults . . ." ⁴ He further perceives,

It is common knowledge that imitation of the classics received even greater emphasis in the Renaissance than it had in the postclassical age. Indeed, the Renaissance almost killed imitation by overemphasis. ⁵

John Milton's course of study at St. Paul's School provided for intensive analysis of speech models. ⁶

Most of the great British parliamentary orators were students of speech masterpieces. Of Lord Chatham, Goodrich reports,

Demosthenes was his model; and we are told that he rendered a large part of his orations again and again into English, as the best means of acquiring a forcible and expressive style. ⁷

As a means of improving his diction, Chatham read and re-read the sermons of Dr. Barrow until he knew many by heart. Edmund Burke also was a student of Demosthenes and later formed himself on the model of Cicero. ⁸ In addition to being a student of Demosthenes, Charles James Fox studied the parliamentary speeches of the great British orator, Lord Chatham. ⁹

²Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria*, vol. IV, trans. H. E. Butler, (London, 1922), 75.

³Seneca, *Controversiae* I, Praef. 6, cited by Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*, (New York, 1957), 150.

⁴Clark, 155.

⁵Clark, 149.

⁶Donald Lemen Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School*, (New York, 1948), 100-130.

⁷Chauncey A. Goodrich, *Select British Eloquence*, (New York, 1852), 52.

⁸Goodrich, 207.

⁹Goodrich, 438.

Noted American orators and statesmen have also been students of speeches. As a young scholar, Henry Ward Beecher bought a complete set of Burke's *Eloquence*.¹⁰ Daniel Webster acquired a thorough knowledge of Edmund Burke.¹¹ Of Woodrow Wilson, another student of Burke, McKean said,

He read also the American orators, particularly Henry and Webster, and he followed the debates in Congress. He read in translation the Greek and Roman orators, and he read some criticism, at least Jebb's *Attic Orators* and Goodrich's *British Eloquence*.¹²

Wilson himself once wrote, "Only as the constant companions of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Fox, Channing and Webster can we hope to become orators."¹³

Chauncey Goodrich, early nineteenth century Yale University professor of rhetoric, accepted Hume's advice, "he who would teach eloquence must do it chiefly by examples," and used Demosthenes' *Oration for the Crown* as a textbook for a senior class in oratory. In the follow-up course he used modern eloquence to show the leading characteristics of great orators.¹⁴ At the dawn of the twentieth century, Howard Pierce Baker taught a course in "Forms of Public Address" at Harvard University; and young Franklin Roosevelt was one of his most interested students.¹⁵

Thus the study of speeches is an old and widespread practice. It dates back to antiquity and has been continued to the present day. From this knowledge an obvious question arises: Why study speeches? Since we believe (1) that every speech student should study the great rhetoric of his ancestors and that of his modern contemporaries, and (2) that the study of speeches is an integral component of a liberal education, it is our purpose to attempt to answer this question. Three major reasons are apparent:

¹⁰Lionel Crocker, "Henry Ward Beecher," in William Norwood Brigrance, ed., *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, vol. I, (New York, 1943), 273.

¹¹William Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, (Chicago, 1878), 329.

¹²Dayton David McKean, "Woodrow Wilson," in Brigrance, *American Public Address*, vol. II, 972.

¹³McKean, 973.

¹⁴Goodrich, *British Eloquence*, iii.

¹⁵Earnest Brandenburg and Waldo W. Braden, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt," in Marie Kathryn Hochmuth, ed., *History and Criticism of American Public Address*, vol. III, (New York, 1955), 461.

I

Speeches should be studied to enlarge and deepen our understanding of rhetorical theory. By analyzing speeches we can more clearly discern sound rhetorical theory as it is embodied in actual practice. Rhetorical percepts expounded in textbooks often remain meaningless until they are experienced through the careful study of sound speech models. Modern educators have established that the learning process can be effectively reinforced through the combination of theory and realistic experience.¹⁶ In the same manner, the comprehension of rhetorical theory is stimulated by our contact with it as embodied in speech models. St. Augustine was cognizant of this fact when he declared, "Men of quick intellect . . . find it easier to become eloquent by reading and listening to eloquent speakers than by following rules for eloquence."¹⁷

Not only will our knowledge of rhetorical theory be clarified by the study of speeches, but also will this clearer understanding enable us to improve our own speech habits. The study of models will encourage us to utilize sound speech methods which we see have been successfully employed by others of note. Thus, one motive force in our own speech maturation can be the study of notable speeches. Isocrates wrote,

Oratory . . . would make the greatest advance if we should admire and honor . . . those who are the most finished craftsmen and . . . those who know how to speak as no one else could.¹⁸

As speakers, we must build upon the sound methods used by those before us. The great Roman educator, Quintilian, tersely noted this by saying, "It is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success."¹⁹

In addition, our clearer grasp of rhetorical theory will better equip us to formulate sound critical standards with which to evaluate speeches, both past and present. No universally-accepted

¹⁶J. M. Stephens, *Educational Psychology*, rev. ed., (New York, 1958), 366-367.

¹⁷St. Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, trans. J. F. Shaw in Marcus Dods, ed., *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, vol. IX, (Edinburgh, 1873), 5.

¹⁸Isocrates, "Panegyricus" trans. George Norlin, *Isocrates*, vol. II, (London, 1928), 125.

¹⁹Quintilian, 75.

standards exist by which we can judge all speeches. However, speeches which have been deemed superior by discerning men do provide a type of standard for judgment of other speeches. To a degree, speech critics thus can be freed from basing their evaluation solely on whim. They will be able to recognize logic, sound thought, and the other essentials of effective speaking. Through study of models, and thus through a firmer grasp of rhetorical theory, we will be able to see the basic elements which are common to most great speaking.

A clearer understanding of sound rhetorical theory will also help us develop an appreciation of the oral style as opposed to the written style. In English courses, we study great novels and essays to stimulate an awareness of the components of effective written composition. In the same manner, we must study great speeches to cultivate a feeling for effective style and method in oral composition.

Furthermore, a grasp of rhetorical theory based on the study of speeches will aid us in seeing the nature and importance of speech from an aesthetic viewpoint. Most written poetry and some written prose possess discernible qualities of aesthetic beauty. In the inspired hands of some men, speech may become a type of oral artistry. Through studying speeches, we may see more clearly that truly great speaking possesses elements of poetic beauty and is, therefore, subject to a certain degree of purely aesthetic appreciation. For example, some of Winston Churchill's magnificent speeches reflect the sublime. Rhythmic beauty pulsates in his stirring declaration that "never in the course of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."²⁰ Lincoln, too, permeated some of his addresses with qualities of beauty. His entire *Gettysburg Address* possesses a poetic quality. His *Second Inaugural Address* concludes on the poetic note, "With malice toward one, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right . . ."²¹ The study of speeches, then, develops an aesthetic appreciation of oral sublimity.

²⁰Winston Churchill, speech in House of Commons, Aug. 20, 1940.

²¹Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," in A. Craig Baird, ed., *American Public Addresses*, (New York, 1956), 115-117.

II

Speeches should be studied because they often influence the course of history. Single speeches have triggered major historical movements. In 1095, at Clermont in France, Pope Urban II spoke to a gathered throng and asked them "to come forward to the defense of Christ." Historian William C. Lang wrote,

The responsive chord had been struck; the first crusade was soon under way. We need not evaluate the significance of the entire movement; but whether one assesses the results from a religious or a secular point of view, one cannot escape the conclusion that the spark which lit the fuel deeply influenced the direction of events for many years. One must conclude with the warning that the direction which events did take would be harder to explain without Urban's speech than with it.²²

Martin Luther's speech at the Diet of Worms has affected the entire western world. Jonathan Edwards' *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* led to the Great Awakening. Patrick Henry's impassioned call to arms aroused his fellow Virginians to support the cause of the American Revolution.

Once the movement has begun, speech frequently becomes the chief means of implementation. As one writer aptly puts it:

Not only is history written with words. It is made with words. Most of the mighty movements . . . have gathered strength in obscure places from the talk of nameless men, and gained final momentum from leaders who could state in common words the needs and hopes of common people. Great movements, in fact, are usually led by men of action who are also men of words, who use words as instruments of power who voice their aims in words of historic simplicity. . . .²³

A good illustration of this is the Woman's Suffrage Movement, which was touched off by speeches at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 and was conducted from the public address platform until its fulfillment in 1920. Meetings, at which women lecturers pled for their cause, were conducted in every state in the Union. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and other stalwarts spoke for women's rights for half a century. Anna Howard Shaw spoke several hundred times a year, often speaking as many

²²William C. Lang, "Public Address as a Force in History," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, Feb. 1951, 33.

²³Brigance, *American Public Address*, vol. I, vii.

as eight times a day. The written word contributed to this movement, but the oral word was the principal weapon.

Since it is apparent that public address can influence the course of history, several impelling reasons for studying speeches are discernible. First, the study of speeches accords an insight into the mind of the times. This is true because a speech is usually vitally linked to the history and beliefs of the era in which it is given. For example, the attitudes and aspirations of the women suffragists are mirrored in their speeches, while, at the same time, many of the attitudes of their opponents as well as prevailing popular sentiments are reflected. History professor William C. Lang believes that through the intensive study of a speaker and his speeches we can see "the significance of the meeting of the man, the place and the times."²⁴ Such an insight should be an aid to understanding and evaluating the stream of civilization, both past and present.

Second, the study of speeches accords an insight into the views of prominent historical figures. One can gain much of Edmund Burke's philosophy of government from studying his speeches. Another good example is that of Franklin D. Roosevelt. B. D. Zevin commented that

every important event, every important project, every significant act of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presidency is reflected in his speeches. They constitute a self-contained history of one of the most critical periods of the Nation.²⁵

Third, the study of speeches helps us to understand the function of speech in society. We come to realize its influence in the realm of social utility and social action. Speech may be used to achieve relatively simple effects and it may be used to implement great movements, such as the Temperance Movement of the last century. Perhaps the dynamic force of public address is best illustrated in the speeches of great political leaders to the common public. Franklin Roosevelt's confident expression, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," dispelled panic at a time when our democratic system was undergoing its severest test. As Harry L. Hopkins phrased it,

²⁴Lang, 34.

²⁵Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address," in B. D. Zevin, ed., *Nothing to Fear, The Selected Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, (The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1946), xvii.

With that one speech, and in those few minutes, the appalling anxiety and fears were lifted, and the people of the United States knew they were going into a safe harbor under the leadership of a man who never knew the meaning of fear.²⁶

Winston Churchill's masterful addresses during the dark days of World War II helped to rally a nation gaping into the abyssmal jaws of defeat. Dwight Eisenhower's promise, "I will go to Korea," led many to believe that he could settle the Korean conflict.

It is common knowledge that a skillful speaker can utilize man's emotions. Demagogues take full advantage of this. Adolf Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*,

The power which has always started the greatest religious and political avalanches in history rolling has from time immemorial been the magic power of the spoken word, and that alone.

Particularly the broad masses of the people can be moved only by the power of speech . . .

Only a storm of hot passion can turn the destinies of peoples. . . .²⁷

Der Führer's emotional orgies are far too recent for us to forget. Also, Huey P. Long's promise of "every man a king" exemplifies the skill of demagogic craftsman. The study of speeches helps us to differentiate between a true masterpiece of public address and a piece of demagogic propaganda. Such critical discernment is vital today because never before in history has man been bombarded with so much oral propaganda.

III

Speeches should be studied because eloquent ideas are often embodied in notable addresses. Speech masterpieces many times are sources of dynamic inspiration. Through such study many influential orators have gained inspiration for the style and content of their own speeches. Daniel Webster seems to have read certain speeches "until their ideas were held in his own mind in constant solution . . . The germs of some of his finest thoughts and metaphors may be found in Burke."²⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson,

²⁶B. D. Zevin, *Nothing to Fear*, viii.

²⁷Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim, (Boston, 1943), 106-107.

²⁸Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, 329.

a famous lecturer in his own right, found most of his public speaking ideals in Webster. Emerson says of Webster; "His excellent organization, the perfection of his elocution and all that thereto belongs . . . we shall not soon find again."²⁹

In somewhat the same manner, the study of speeches can provide inspiration for the humanitarian, for the philosopher, and for all mankind. Because great ideas and concepts are often embodied in speeches, the study of these speeches can stimulate man's thinking and action. Christ's eloquent *Sermon on the Mount* has been a source of inspiration to mankind for two thousand years. We frequently think of Emerson's *American Scholar* as an essay, whereas it was really a stirring lecture delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Clearly, this oration has been a source of intellectual inspiration to countless educators and common men alike. Longinus, in his penetrating treatise *On the Sublime*, discussed various paths to greatness which speakers, writers and philosophers may follow. "There is another road to greatness . . . It is . . . emulation and imitation . . . Many a man derives inspiration from another spirit . . ."³⁰ The study of great speeches, then, is a fruitful source of inspiration for all men.

In summary, the study of masterpieces of public address has been recommended and practised from Greek antiquity through the present day. Speeches should be studied because they deepen our understanding of rhetorical theory, because they often shape the course of history, and because they may embody great inspirational ideas.

It is fitting to remember that Joseph Conrad's discerning thought applies not only to written but also to oral expression: "Give me the right word . . . and I will move the world."³¹

²⁹Theodore Stenborg, "Emerson and Oral Discourse," in A. M. Drummond, ed., *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking*, (New York, 1925), 179.

³⁰Longinus, *On the Sublime*, trans. G. M. Grube, (New York, 1957), 22.

³¹William Norwood Brigance, *Speech Composition*, 2nd ed., (New York, 1957), citing Joseph Conrad, 199.

INTERPRETATIVE READING AT STATE CONTESTS

MARY FRANCES HOPKINS

ONE OF THE MOST COMPLICATED AREAS in any speech contest is oral interpretation. There are many contestants, many types of readings, and many and sometimes varied opinions of what is good or bad. Two girls were overheard as they discussed this problem. One of them said, "Interp. is the very worst thing to get into. If you do too much, you're acting; if you don't do enough, you're wooden and stiff. You just can't win." This comment was greeted almost with cheers by some judges, who are convinced that the girls are at least almost right. Interpretation is a difficult field, demanding many specialized skills and abilities. These can, however, be acquired by most students with the proper guidance.

But sometimes there is confusion among those who guide. Even the experts are not always in agreement about what is good or bad, and there are frequent complaints that standards differ widely from tournament to tournament. Partly because of these disagreements it was thought to be a good idea to study the judges' reactions at one of our state tournaments in Louisiana. The judges were given rating sheets for all the contestants and invited to write profusely on various items concerning the readings. The contestants also were asked to fill out forms stating the title and author of the selection, the source of the reading, and the position of the person who coached the reader. The information from both sources was compiled in a large chart and studied.

Certain steps were taken to make the study as reliable as possible. First, the judges were selected carefully. Each of the eighteen judges had done advanced work in the area of interpretation. Also, the rating sheets were planned carefully. There were many separate items, and judges were asked to comment on them rather than evaluate them on a scale. The judges were given some advanced instruction about filling out the sheets and asked to make their comments as specific as possible.

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It is perhaps necessary to explain the organization of the tournament that we call State Rally. There are no preliminary eliminations; each school may enter only one contestant in each of the two divisions—boys and girls. The schools are grouped according to size; and there are three main divisions. Then each of the three divisions is divided into a boys' group and a girls' group. All types of selections are acceptable; and there is no attempt to classify them. The three judges for each group rate each contestant without selecting a winner. There are five ratings: 1, fair; 2, average; 3, good; 4, excellent; and 5, superior.

For at least two reasons it was thought wise to make available not only the judges' decisions but their comments as well. In the first place, students received help from many people, not all of them speech teachers. Of one hundred twenty-seven contestants, only forty-eight received help from speech teachers, though sixteen others listed their coaches as teachers of English and speech. For some reason, two students listed debate coaches apart from speech teachers, and for thirty-seven students English teachers provided assistance. Other contestants also received help from various other faculty members: two from French teachers; two from librarians; one from a teacher of physical education; and three from principals. One was coached by a "retired actress and director;" one, by his mother; and two coaches were listed as "unemployed." Two contestants did not specify the field of their teachers, and ten did not fill out this part of the form.

A second reason for trying to study and publicize the judges' comments was the scarcity of high ratings. Only nine of the one hundred twenty-seven students received the highest rating, *Superior*, and only twenty-four received the next highest, *Excellent*. In a State Rally, where even without previous elimination contests, one might expect to hear the best readers, there were twenty-one that received the lowest possible grade, *Fair*, and thirty-eight that received the second lowest, *Average*. Both judges and coaches want to know the reasons for the poor ratings as well as the good ones; therefore this study was undertaken, and an attempt was made to learn the judges' reaction to the varied aspects of a reading.

I. *How do judges react to the quality of the selection itself?*

The first problem encountered by the reader is choosing a selc-

tin. Concerning this one item it was possible to come to some conclusions. There was definitely a relationship between the quality of the selection itself and the rating. There were twenty-five selections that the judges considered especially unsuitable, and seventeen of them received the two lowest ratings. Only two received an *Excellent*, which would seem to emphasize the difficulty of effectively presenting a selection that is intrinsically of little literary worth. On the other hand, all nine readers who were rated *Superior* had chosen selections that the judges considered good.

What were the objections raised by the judges? Nine selections were considered "too emotional," among them, "Maxim de Winter," an adaptation from *Rebecca*; "The Leper," by N. P. Willis, and "Hagar," a monologue by Nicholson. Fourteen were called "worthless" literature; for instance, "This is the House," "The Baldheaded Man," (both anonymous), and "Poor Little Joey," by Proudfit. Oddly enough, ten of these selections were either recommended or approved by teachers. Only five of them came from text books. On the other hand, of the twenty selections considered especially good, half were chosen either by the teacher or with a teacher's help. In addition to those selections thought to be inherently bad literature, there were six that were either inappropriate for a high school student, such as Anouilh's *Antigone*, or too difficult, such as the "Love-song of J. Alfred Prufrock." The choice of four of these could be blamed on teachers. Four selections were considered inappropriate to the reader, and for three of these, teachers were responsible. From a text came one selection that was not adaptable to oral reading, and a student chose his own reading that was thought too short. Two selections were untimely—for instance, the judges could not quite rise to "A Visit from St. Nicholas" on a hot April afternoon; and one group of poems was criticized for lack of unity. Apparently contestants need to spend more time selecting material according to literary value, suitability for reading aloud, and appropriateness to both reader and contest.

II. *Are introductions important?*

Most of the contestants also need to devote more time to introductions—more preparation as well as more of their performance time. Thirty-seven readers stated only the title and author, and one neglected to mention even that information. Once the judges went

so far as to state that an introduction was needed to make the selection a good one; and in six other instances the judges requested more explanation for the content of the reading, such as the situation, characters, and the like. There were eight other adverse criticisms. Sometimes preparation for the mood was lacking, and one was over-dramatic. One reader gave only the birth and death dates of the author. Altogether there were twenty-six good ones and thirty-seven that were called adequate. In general the judges preferred extemporaneous introductions and obvious transitions from the introduction to the reading. It may or may not be significant that all nine *Superior* ratings received favorable comments on the introductions.

III. *How do judges evaluate communication of meaning?*

The most striking aspect of this particular study is the obvious importance to the judges of the communication of meaning. Of the thirty-two selections in the top ranks, twenty-five had comments suggesting that the reader communicated the meaning well, and five others had comments of "fair" or "adequate" in this area. Twenty-seven readings received not one grade above "*Average*" from any of the judges. In this group eighteen were criticized for lack of communication, and seven were considered only mediocre. In two instances the judges felt moved to comment, "not much to get anyhow." Not one reading in the lower ratings received a favorable comment on communication of meaning.

It was impossible in this study to analyze the causes of this lack of communication of meaning. A study of the sources of the readings proved inconclusive; that is, it could not be established that the student showed a better understanding of the selection if he had chosen it himself. In fact, there was no indication at all that the method of selecting the reading had any effect on the reader's understanding of the selection.

It is very difficult to pinpoint just which aspects of the reading indicate lack of communication of meaning. Certain vocal techniques can, it is true, be pointed out, but it must be obvious that a reader can correct his vocal techniques without necessarily correcting the fault in his understanding. Nevertheless, it might be helpful to note some of the comments that accompanied his criticism. "Rough phrasing" appeared often, as did "need more pauses." Sometimes

was noted "missed point," or "emphasized wrong words." In one case there was "no variety, no pause, no builds," and one tired judge seemed to sum up objections in this area with his comment, "just words."

The judges seemed very much aware that variety is not the full answer to this problem of meaning, as evidenced by remarks such as, "mechanical inflections, artificial when varied," "sudden changes for effect alone," and "series of poundings and whisperings." One reader seemed inadequate at putting over the "deep" meaning, and one judge complained, "so overdramatic I couldn't follow ideas." Once again it should be emphasized that judges were interested in the deeper problem of understanding, not just the vocal techniques. One contestant received an *Excellent* in spite of some faulty phrasing because he seemed to grasp and communicate the real meaning. Another received an *Excellent* along with a comment that his sincerity carried the selection.

IV. *How do the judges react to the mood of the selection?*

Even more difficult to write about than the problem of understanding the meaning is that of grasping the mood. Sometimes the readers had trouble. Only thirteen of the readings had any comment from the judges that suggested they were humorous, or were intended to be. Five received high ratings, but four were called intrinsically worthless. Among them were "Mama Spanks Me," and "Casey At The Bat." In five instances the readers failed to communicate any enjoyment of their selections. Once a judge wrote, "Don't get mad. Nash was poking fun." The judges' comments gave no indication of prejudice toward humorous writings or preference for them.

Occasionally more serious selections offered problems in communicating, or perhaps sharing, the mood. One contestant "tried too hard;" another was "too intense." Still another missed a change in the mood of the piece. Two were admonished not to "force emotional impact" or to "substitute volume for emotion," and one reader just "didn't feel it." Again, as in other areas, the judges' comments, while not profuse, indicate that appreciation for the mood of the selection is very important to the reader.

In fact, so important are all the areas already discussed—selecting the reading, introductions, communications of meaning and mood—that perhaps the discussion should end with them. But

mechanics, though less important, are more easily corrected; therefore, it is possible to justify an examination of mechanical difficulties such as posture and use of manuscript. Eye contact, though closely related to understanding, also had some aspects that are purely mechanical.

V. Did the judges notice the mechanical aspects of the reading?

Posture, on the whole, must have been acceptable, for there were only seven unfavorable comments. Judges objected to "wiggling" and also "rocking" on high heels. The judges did not approve of taking steps to emphasize transitions either between introduction and selection or during the reading, and they mentioned that one girl moved her head from side to side. The lack of comments in the area, however, would seem to indicate that most readers had no trouble with posture.

Most comments about the use of manuscript complained about its being too high or too low, but several times the judges noted that the reader didn't need it anyway. In fact, there were seven remarks of "Why hold the book if you are not going to use it?" On the other hand, there were seventeen complaints of little or no eye contact because of dependence on the book. Twice the readers lost their places, and one judge wrote that a student failed once in his memorization but covered well. Apparently the judges are mainly interested in not being aware of the book or manuscript. There was one objection to cards, saying they are too stiff, and the judges disliked a folded manuscript. Twice the color of the book was considered too bright and distracting, and several times the judges painted vivid pictures of quivering sheets of loose paper, once with ragged edges.

Sometime the trouble lay in the handling of the manuscript. There were frequent complaints of playing with the manuscript, and once it was used in a gesture. It was "held awkwardly in one hand," and "held too high by one corner." One reader "dropped manuscript to side when acting," and two slammed the book at the end. One boy held a pencil while he read, and two readers chose the almost impossible expediency of laying their books on a table eight to ten inches below the waist, quite expectedly invoking criticisms of bad eye contact.

Besides the seventeen students who were too dependent on scripts, there were other eye contact problems. Two girls looked at

the ceiling, and one who read a play looked up for all roles. In a prose selection one character was placed on the ceiling and one on the floor. One reader "didn't seem to *see* audience," and once a judge wrote, "very good, but *where* are you looking?" Another reader was admonished not to look at empty chairs. The most specific comment was about the Superior reading of "Go Down, Death": "Looked right at me on 'Weep no more,' and I could have gone through the floor. He really has eye contact."

VI. *Can any conclusions be reached about the judges' opinions?*

On the whole, the judges were in agreement, as evidenced both by their ratings and by their comments; and it is possible to reach some conclusions about their likes and dislikes. Probably the single item that carried the most weight was communication of meaning, but there were indications that the quality of the selection did affect the ratings, either directly or indirectly. The judges felt that appreciation of the mood was important, and that introductions could be a great help in communicating both mood and meaning. They were aware of mechanical difficulties in the readings, but they considered them less important.

The two girls who were discouraged about the difficulty of oral interpretation were only partly correct when they concluded that you "can't win." The judges know what they like and what they don't; but they can be pleased.

JOHN WARWICK DANIEL'S SPEECH
HONORING ROBERT E. LEE,
LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA, 1883

WILLIAM W. CHAFFIN

IN VIRGINIA DURING THE 1870's and 1880's as the state recovered from the effects of the Civil War, there occurred a realignment of political forces and recurrences of economic pressures and social problems. After the white-supremacy Conservative Party had gained control of the state from the Republicans and their southern helpers who promoted the aims of Reconstruction, there began a struggle between the old-line Conservatives and a more liberal group. That struggle eventually ended with a break in the party: one faction, led by ex-Confederate General William Mahone, soon joined with the Republicans; the other group of which John Warwick Daniel of Lynchburg was a member formed the Democratic Party of Virginia. The former group, called Readjusters, agitated for scaling down the state debt incurred during the war. The impoverished and restive agrarian and urban masses of the state supported this aim. The latter group, allied with the Commonwealth's business creditors, demanded that the state debt be paid at face value.

By 1881 the Readjusters were in control of not only the General Assembly, but also the Governor's mansion. A flood of liberal measures burst upon the state, leaving Conservatives gasping for air. Swept away were the laws providing for the whipping post and the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. Farmers received relief by reduction of their taxes. Funds that had been diverted from education were restored. Back salaries were paid. Of course, the state debt was scaled down. To get revenue to finance their plans and to pay additional expenses, the Readjusters turned to corporate wealth which had previously been allowed to escape with ridiculously low rates.¹

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¹More material on this period can be found in, Richard B. Doss, "John Warwick Daniel—A Study in the Virginia Democracy" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1955); Francis Butler Simkins, *The South—Old and New* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949); C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Louisiana State University Press: The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1951).

The Conservatives realized that the only way to drive the Readjusters from power was to acquiesce to readjustment of the state debt, which had the support of the populace and was an accomplished fact anyway. Further, the Conservatives determined to constantly expose the unattractive features of "Mahoneism"—boss rule, cultivation of the Negro vote, and alliance with the Republicans.

II

The ceremony to honor the unveiling of the recumbent figure of Robert E. Lee was to occur in June of 1883 in Lexington, Virginia. To honor the General's memory, the committee on arrangements named John Daniel as the orator for the occasion. Daniel was of an old Virginia family; his father had been a member of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. Daniel himself had served in the Confederate army under Generals Lee, Jackson, and Early. Wounds received at the Battle of the Wilderness forced him for the rest of his life to use a crutch for support when walking; so following the war he was affectionately known as the "Major" or the "Lame Lion of Lynchburg." When peace arrived Daniel had taken up the study of law and had become an expert on negotiable instruments. Politically he was a Conservative. In fact, by 1833 he had been defeated for numerous elective offices, such as the governorship and the representative to Congress from the Lynchburg area, by the Mahone machine. Nevertheless, he was known by his contemporaries as an effective speaker. In physical appearance he looked much younger than a man in his early forties. He was of medium height, combining an impressive bearing with a robust, cheerful disposition.

The political observers of the day did not overlook the significance of the selection of Daniel as the speaker for the event. As early as the 1870's it was apparent that there was a close relationship between the Virginia Conservative Party and the old supporters of the Confederacy in the Commonwealth. Further, it had been noticed that Daniel, on previous occasions, had shown great ability to sway the men who had once worn the uniform of the South. There was, in addition, the realization by many Virginians that conservative leaders claimed to be guardians of the better traditions of the state and of the memories of the Confederacy. No

man could better paint this picture, and at the same time indirectly indict the Mahone machine, than could Daniel.²

III

The unveiling ceremonies climaxed the graduation exercises at Washington and Lee University, and were concluded on June 28, 1883, the day that Daniel's oration was given. The University graduation had drawn many people into Lexington. Hundreds of ex-Confederate soldiers poured into the small southern town for the Lee memorial occasion. The Committee on arrangements had sent special cards to all former officers of the Davis government, general officers of the Confederate army and navy, members of General Lee's staff, Southern governors, officers of the Virginia State Government and Virginia Congressmen and Senators. Further, the people of Lexington and Rockbridge County spared no effort to make the day a success. Business was suspended and local homes were opened to out-of-town visitors.³

Preceding the Daniel speech was an abundance of official grave decorating and band playing. Around 11:00 A.M. the speaker of the day was introduced by General Early to an outdoor crowd estimated to number from 8,000 to 10,000 assembled on the Washington and Lee Campus. Daniel then spoke from one hour and forty-five minutes to upwards of three hours.⁴ At the conclusion of this address Father Ryan was called upon by General Early to recite his poem, "The Sword of Lee." Finally, the figure was unveiled by Julia Jackson, daughter of "Stonewall" Jackson, as the "Rockridge [County] artillery" fired a salute. The mausoleum was opened to the public and thousands moved forward and viewed the figure that day. At nightfall the tomb was closed, but the festivities in the town continued on late into the night.⁵

²Richard B. Doss, "John Warwick Daniel—A Study in the Virginia Democracy" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1955). Hereafter referred to as Doss, *op. cit.*

³*Ceremonies of General Robert Edward Lee—Historical Sketch of the Lee Memorial Association* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell and Co., 1883), p. 14.

⁴There is much dispute on this point. The Historical Sketch of the Lee Memorial Association and Henry Boley—Henry Boley, Lexington in Old Virginia, (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1936), p.; 39.—claim that the address was three hours in length but the *Baltimore Day*, June 28, 1883 in a news-story claimed that the address lasted less than two hours.

⁵*Ceremonies of* . . . pp. 15-18.

IV

Daniel developed his speech around three main premises. They were: one, that Lee was a great man; two, that those who fought for the South during the Civil War ought to be proud of this; and three; that the members of the audience should work for reconciliation between the North and the South. He developed these premises deductively, following a loose plan of organization.⁶

In his introduction, Daniel said that Lee was a fine, noble individual. "The head of the house established here was a man whom Nature had richly endowed with grace of person and high qualities of head and heart."⁷ Later in the oration Daniel spoke of the character of Lee thus: . . . "there was naught on earth that could swerve Robert E. Lee from the path where to his clear comprehension honor and duty lay."⁸ Daniel, speaking primarily to a Virginia and pro-Confederate audience only a few short years after the death of the General, did not have to prove his premise; he only had to reinforce the truth of it for his listeners.

The forms of amplification for his premise were varied. Frequently, he had recourse to the use of the analogy:

Since the Son of Man stood upon the Mount, and saw "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" stretched before him, and turned away to the agony and bloody sweat of Gethsemane, and to the Cross of Calvary beyond, no follower of the meek and lowly Saviour had undergone more trying ordeal, or met it with higher spirit of heroic sacrifice.⁹

This analogy was striking because it connoted that Lee was above the multitude in stature, yet he suffered for what was right in preference to glory and fame. Further, the passage had a religious theme and connected Lee with Christ, suggesting that the General had many God-like qualities. To the unsophisticated rural segment of his audience, which was intensely religious, such an analogy was probably persuasive and compelling.

It was with the use of illustrations and vivid word pictures that Daniel excelled in amplifying his premise. Frequent paragraphs

⁶Copies of Daniel's speech may be found in Edward M. Daniel, *Speeches and Orations of John Warwick Daniel* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell and Company, Inc., 1911), p. 188; "Robert Edward Lee" [compilers] (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell and Company, 1883).

⁷Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 188

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 192.

were colored with personification: "Fame had already bound his brow with laurel, and Fortune had poured into his lap her golden horn."¹⁰ Or Daniel might say, "Yesterday your mother, Virginia, placed her sword in your hand upon the implied condition that we know you will keep in letter and in spirit"¹¹ As mentioned, Daniel needed only to rekindle the fires of veneration for Lee, and the most appropriate way to accomplish this was by the use of word pictures.

Where now is Robert Lee? On the Border line, between two hostile empires, girding their loins for as stern a fight as ever tested warrior's steel, he beholds each beckoning to him to lead its people to battle.¹²

Vain was the mighty struggle led by the peerless Lee. Genius planned, valor executed, patriotism stripped itself of every treasure, and heroism fought and bled and died, and all in vain.¹³

Unquestionably, there was exaggeration by Daniel in his word pictures; however, it is probable that his audience not only expected this but would have been disappointed with its absence.

Daniel did not develop this premise in praise of Lee in any systematic manner. It was not necessary, for his auditors already basically agreed with him about his subject. He did not have to lead them from point to point, as would an appellant lawyer developing his case before an appeal court. He painted his portrait of Lee in broad, flashing strokes and attempted to heighten the attachment for the General by so doing.

Running like a tenuous thread through the entire speech was the second premise of Daniel, that those who fought for the Southern way of life should take considerable satisfaction in it. At the beginning of the speech the orator particularized the advantages of Southern civilization and what was to him its guiding tenets. He talked, for example, of "the homes of a people of simple tastes and upright minds, renowned for their devotion to their native land, and for their fierce love of liberty; a people who drunk into their souls with their mother's milk, that Man is of right, and ought to be, free."¹⁴ Daniel treated this premise in a manner similar to his prior one; however, it was lightly touched upon in comparison with

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 194.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 203

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 187

the first premise. His evidence was slight, except again for his vivid word pictures. But then it was really not necessary for him to produce well-documented evidence. His audience was quite pleased with what he gave them.

Henry Grady in New York City in 1886 sounded a dramatic call for reconciliation and cooperation between North and South;¹⁵ yet Daniel three years before in Lexington was urging on a southern audience the same theme in a more subtle, less graphic manner.

The orator suggested his supposition by telling his listeners what Lee said after the Appomattox surrender: "It is our duty to live, for what will become of the women and children of the South if we are not here to support and protect them?"¹⁶ Further, Daniel told them Lee had accepted defeat and realized that the war had settled the old issues. It is to be noted that Daniel used Lee as a quotable authority so that his audience would more readily accept his premise of the North and South working together for the common good. Washington was quoted to show that the country must work together for the benefit of all. What better proof was there for a Virginia audience!

Just as with the first premise, a plethora of support was given by Daniel in the form of analogies designed to show that self-restraint was an admirable quality. De Long, the arctic explorer, was depicted writing up his journal as he died inch by inch from cold and starvation, and he was compared with Napoleon's Marshall Ney, who won the title "bravest of the brave." Daniel implied that the explorer equally deserved this epithet. The small Dutch boy who plugged up the dykes was contrasted favorably with the French soldier, Cambronne, shouting to the conquering British at Waterloo, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders."¹⁷ These were the types of analogies that Daniel used. His obvious purpose was to show that the suffering people of the South could show quiet self-restraint in forgetting the horrors of Reconstruction and in suppressing any feeling of revenge towards their tormentors. Perhaps the Major intended his references to Ney and Cambronne to suggest the actions of Mahone and his cohorts, since Daniel and other Conservatives were constantly labeling the opposition as being rash, brash, and full of empty boasts.

¹⁵A. Craig Baird, *American Public Address 1740-1952* (New York: McCraw Hill Company, Inc., 1956), p. 180.

¹⁶Daniel, *op. cit.* pp. 207-8.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 224.

Daniel, however, did not fully develop this reconciliation premise. He told his audience to forget the unpleasant past, but not to forget their southern heritage, and in an amorphous manner he told them to cooperate with the North and think in terms of the future. He did not labor this premise sufficiently to make it stick in the minds of his listeners.

The use of pathetic proof was a specialty of Daniel's. He aroused the sympathy of his listeners when he spoke of Lee after Appomattox as being "reviled and harassed,"¹⁸ or when he spoke of Virginia after the war as being "prostrate and bankrupt."¹⁹ These types of appeals could not but reach a primarily Virginia audience that had lived through Reconstruction. Loyalty to the memory of the Confederacy and its heroes was constantly stressed by Daniel. Such remarks as, "they stand embattled in calm and stern repose ready to die with their harness on—warriors every inch, without fear, without stains,"²⁰ carried the meaning that these soldiers were defending the very people who were listening to Daniel that day. The emotions of pride and love were most utilized by Daniel. Almost every paragraph of his speech drew upon these. The Major spoke to "the pine and oak-clad hills, and the fields of the 'Old Dominion,' dotted here and there with the homes of a people of simple tastes and upright minds"²¹ He tried to re-fire devotion for Lee by mentioning that the General "had been reared in the school of simple manners and lofty thoughts which belonged to the elder generation."²² He stressed that his listeners should be proud of their homes and their soldiers and love their traditions.

Daniel had considerable ethos before even uttering a single syllable, for when he was introduced by General Early to speak, he received a tremendous ovation from the crowd and was listened to with attention. While speaking, he further constructed his ethos by building the character of Lee, and by his numerous references to the glory of being a Confederate veteran. He drew upon his wartime connection with Lee in order to heighten his own stature and pointed out that he was a fellow soldier. Daniel's very physical appearance helped his ethical appeal with his audience. Here was a

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 217.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 204.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 187.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 189.

man standing before his audience supported by a crutch because of wounds he had received fighting either for or with the great majority of those who were before him.

V

The main premises of Daniel were not clearly defined in this address. Whether he was building the character of Lee, commenting on the glory of being a Confederate, or preaching for reconciliation between North and South, his use of evidence was haphazard. His use of analogies and vivid word pictures were his most effective means of support. These were generally woven together skilfully and, thus, were adequate for a highly receptive audience assembled to listen to a ceremonial address concerning a sectional hero.

His pathos usually appealed to the lofty emotions of his listeners, such as, sympathy, loyalty, and pride. He used almost no humor or light touches. There was no attempt to be subtle or indirect. He expected to bring tears into the eyes of his auditors and courage into their hearts, and he probably succeeded.

For his ethos Daniel associated himself with Lee, as would a parasite to its host, and he basked in reflected glory. In addition he achieved ethos due to his physical handicap from wounds inflicted in the Civil War.

VI

John W. Daniel's speech of June 28, 1883, was well received not only by those few thousand within ear reach, but it was well received by the press. A reporter for the *Baltimore Day* wrote:

At the close of the religious exercises Major John W. Daniel, the eloquent Virginia orator, delivered a splendid oration during which he paid a glowing tribute to Gen. Lee as a soldier and Christian gentleman. . . [Daniel] was listened to with breathless attention, the audience at times being fairly carried away by some of his highest flights of eloquence.²³

The *Washington Post* devoted its entire front page to the speech and reprints were in constant demand.²⁴

Leading southerners commented on the address. L. Q. C. Lamar

²³News item in the *Baltimore Day*, June 28, 1883.

²⁴Doss, "John W. . . .," pp. 65-6.

felt that "it will be one of the great enduring orations of the 19th Century." Thomas Nelson Page, a qualified critic of Virginia during this period, praised the speech. Virginia Congressman John Goode stated that he had "rather be the author of that speech than be Governor of Virginia."²⁵

VII

Daniel delivered the oration on Robert E. Lee for the ostensible purpose of honoring the memory of a famous and beloved American; but he had other designs in mind. He emphasized the glory and honor of being a Confederate veteran, and he urged his audience to labor for reconciliation between the North and the South.

He addressed many thousands, out-of-doors, at which time there was much noise to compete with the speaker for the attention of his auditors. His listeners were a cross-section of predominantly rural Virginia with a scattering of out-of-state visitors in attendance. These people had not come to hear a well-reasoned argument developed systematically. For these reasons Daniel concentrated on lively analogies and vivid, dramatic word imagery. He sacrificed clear organizational development of his premises and adequate support for dubious points in order to hold their attention for upwards of three hours.

The Lexington Speech established Daniel as the spokesman for the rejuvenated Conservative Party of Virginia, enabling him to be elected shortly thereafter to the United States House of Representatives and paving the road to a national senatorship; more than these, it made him his party's most popular member.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

THE SPEECH OF OCRACOKE, NORTH CAROLINA SOME OBSERVATIONS

LUCIA C. MORGAN

OCRACOKE ISLAND, a narrow ribbon of sand off the North Carolina coast, is one of the chain of islands making up the Outer Banks. These islands lie about thirty miles off the main coast and they separate Pamlico Sound from the Atlantic Ocean. Cape Hatteras, an area prominent in the news during hurricane seasons, is just north of Ocracoke. The islands can be reached by car by following routes 158, 64 or 264 eastward to Nags Head at which point one turns southward to cross Oregon Inlet on to Hatteras Island. At the Southern tip of Hatteras a second ferry crosses Hatteras Inlet to Ocracoke. The village of Ocracoke on the southern end of Ocracoke Island can also be reached from the mainland by the daily mailboat from Atlantic. The mailboat carries no cars and only six passengers, but a privately owned ferry from Atlantic is to begin operations by summer 1960.

The Islands of the Outer Banks have had an interesting history and they have figured prominently in the early development of North Carolina. The first record of permanent settlers on Ocracoke was in 1715 when the Colonial Assembly, realizing the importance of Ocracoke Inlet for trade, passed an act providing for the settling and maintaining of pilots on Ocracoke who would guide trading vessels around the dangerous shoals and into the Pamlico Sound from which point the vessels could proceed with relative safety up the numerous rivers emptying into the Sound. The history of Ocracoke is the history of those original pilots and their descendents.

Until recent years the islands were comparatively unknown to tourists, although hunters and sportsmen had long been aware of the area as a mecca for wildfowl. As a result of this isolation, the speech of the Bankers, (as the inhabitants are called) has been free of mainland influences, but it is rapidly changing. The speech pat-

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terns of the present middle-aged generation still retain some interesting variants, but the younger generation is making an effort to eradicate the pronunciations the tourists label "quaint."

The people of Ocracoke have become rather sensitive about their speech and they made every effort to conceal the very deviations we hoped to hear. This was particularly true when they were asked to record stories and legends of their island. Earlier investigators had hidden microphones under the counters of the post office and the community store in an effort to get uninhibited speech, but this resulted in justified indignation. This reaction made subsequent investigations more difficult. Our best results were obtained through quiet conversations as we visited in the homes and schools. Unfortunately, these conversations could not always be preserved on tapes for future study. The observations presented here are typical of the speech of Ocracoke, but they should not be considered conclusive. It is imperative that the speech of the Outer Banks be systematically recorded before mainland and tourist infiltrations destroy the speech patterns unique to the Bankers.

Carl Goerch, in his delightful volume of stories about Ocracoke, speaks of the *hoy toid* dialect of the islanders.¹ A sound resembling [ɔɪ] for [aɪ] as in *high, tide, night* and *fried*, was observed, but it was not produced with the lip rounding necessary for the [ɔɪ] as in *toy*. The variant seemed to be achieved with manipulations of the dorsum of the tongue rather than with the lips, since the lips remained relatively motionless. The acoustic end result was surprisingly like [ɔɪ]; so it was easy to understand why Mr. Goerch, a writer not a phonetician, identified the sound as [ɔɪ]. For the sake of simplicity in transcription, the sound will be represented by [ɔ̞ɪ]. [ɔ̞] denotes unrounding of the lips.

There was evidence of deliberate lip rounding on the part of some of the informants. One man asked if he should say *high tide* as he usually did or as the tourists expected him to do.

Other variants of the [aɪ] occurred in the expression *my wife* when the [aɪ] in *wife* became [Aɪ] or [ɜɪ]. This variant is not limited to Ocracoke. It is known to exist in both North Carolina and Virginia east of the Blue Ridge. The [aɪ] in *my* was an un-

¹Carl Goerch, *Ocracoke* (John F. Blair, Publisher, Winston-Salem, 1958), pp. 67-69.

stressed [ɪ], similar to the pronunciation used by the Irish in eastern Canada and in parts of the United States.

Wise lists all three variants of [aɪ] as characteristic of Irish dialect, but he points out that the [ɔɪ] characterizes individuals and communities rather than the dialect as a whole. He further states that the [aɪ] for [aɪ] is more widely used than is the [ɔɪ].²

Another interesting feature of the speech of Ocracoke was the treatment of the diphthong [aʊ] as in *cow*. Two distinct variants were heard, often with the same informant. The first was [æ+ʊ], a deviation common in sub-standard Southern speech. *Flounder*, *now* and *sound* were [flæ+ʊndə], [næ+ʊ] and [sæ+ʊnd]. Unlike the Southern variant, nasality was not outstanding.

The second sound change was a distinct [aɪ] for [aʊ]. The islanders were not yet aware of this change as a focal point for investigators so no effort was made to eliminate the variant. *House*, *brown*, *down*, *town*, *out*, *flour*, *ground* and *hound* were recorded with the [aɪ] diphthong.

Examples: *The hound dog sniffed around the hen house.*

[ðə haɪn dɔg snɪft əaɪn ðə hɪn haɪst]

He went down in Pamlico Sound

[hɪ wɪnt daɪn ən pɪmplɪkəʊ sæ+ʊn]

A waitress was explaining how to make clam fritters.

"The clams are ground, then mixed with a little flour, then fried." [ðə klemz ə graɪnd ðɪn mɪkst wɪðə lɪəl flɑɪə ðɪn frɪdɪd]

This second variant has been noted with considerable frequency in the mainland counties immediately adjacent to Pamlico Sound. The sound has been heard in Chapel Hill. Two of the speakers, natives of England from the Cornwall and Berkshire areas, had been in the United States less than a year.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OTHER VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

One of the immediately evident features of Ocracoke speech was the absence of the so-called southern drawl or prolongation of the vowels and diphthongs. With very few exceptions the sounds were of shorter duration than those of mainland speakers. The prolongations that were heard, were made by members of a third grade

²Claude M. Wise, *Applied Phonetics* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 277.

class. *Door*, *floor* and *four* were [dɔwə], [flɔwə] and [fɔwə]. The central vowel [ɜ] was occasionally represented by three distinct sounds [ʌrə] as in *girl* [gʌrəl].

The vowels and diphthongs were unstable among the informants, both as a group of speakers and as individual speakers. For example, [ɪ] had three variants, [æ] had five.

Some of the more prominent deviations are listed below.

- [ɪ] to [i]
fish [fiʃ], *dish* [diʃ], *wish* [wiʃ], *big* [biɡ].
 Since fishing is one of the main industries on the island, the word *fish* was used in many conversations.
- [ɪ] to [ʊ]
river [rʊvə], *sister* [sʊstə], *listen* [lʊsn̩], *cistern* [sʊstən],
filling [fʊlən].
- [ɪ] to [ʌ]
gears [gʲʌz], *hear* [hʲʌ], *steering*
- [ɪ] generally in unstressed medial syllables
telephone [tɛlɪfɛʊn], *Ocracoke* [ɛʊkrɪkɛʊk], *calico*
 [kɛlɪkɛʊ] or [kæɪlɪkɛʊ].
- [ɪ] in unstressed final syllables following front vowels
skillet [skɪlɪt], *salad* [sælɪt], or [sɛɪt],
lettuce [lɛtɪs], *mountain* [mæɪntɪŋ],
kitchen [kɪtʃɪŋ].

The final sound in *kitchen*, *mountain*, *children* and *linen* was frequently [ŋ] instead of [n].

- [ɛ] to [ɪ]
went [wɪnt], *hen* [hɪn], *pen* [pɪn], *held* [hɪlt],
then [ðɪn].

The substitution of [ɪ] for [ɛ] is common in Southern speech, but it does not occur with the same regularity among the native inhabitants of Ocracoke.

- [ɛ] to [eɪ]
mention [meɪntʃən], *head* [heɪd], *egg* [eɪɡ],
tension [teɪntʃən].
- [æ] to [ɛ]
fat [fɛt], *back* [bɛk], *Hatteras* [hetɹəs], *black* [blɛk],
calico (a variety of shell) [kɛlɪkɛʊ], *salad greens* [sɛɪt
 grɪnz], *Atlantic* [ætɪlɛntɪk], *captain* [kɛptɪn].
- [æ] to [æʰ]

- cast* [kæʰs], *last* [læʰs].
- [æ] to [aɪ]
lacking [laɪkɪn].
- [æ] to [ɪ]
Pamlico [pæʰmplɪkɪʊ], [pɪmplɪkɪʊ].
- [æ] [ɛ] to [æɪ], [ɑ]
chairs [tʃæʰɪz], *hair* [hæɪ], [hɑ], *stairs* [stæɪz],
airplanes [æʰpleɪnz], *black bear* [blek bæɪ],
barefooted [bəʰfʊtɪd], [bəfʊtɪd]
- [ɑ] to [ɔ]
dark [dɔrk], *park* [pɔrk].
- [ɑ] to [æ]
calm [kæm], as in *the wind is calm*.
- [aɪ] to [ɑ]
iron [aɪn], [ɑrən], *retire* [ɪɪtə], *briar* [brɪə].
- [eɪ] to [e]
afraid [əfred]
- [ɜ], [ɝ] to [ɑrə], [ɑr]
girl [gɑrəl], *squirrel* [skwɑrəl], *swirls* [swɑrəlz],
hurry [hɑrɪ].
- [ʌ] to [ɛ]
much (in the expression *right much*) [rɪʰt mətʃ],
must [mɛst], *husband* [hezbənd].
- [ʊ] to [ʌ]
took [tʌk], *put* [pʌt], *shook* [ʃʌk].
- [ou] to [eʊ] in monosyllables and stressed syllables
boat [beʊt], *show* [ʃeʊ], *Ocracoke* [ɛʊkrɪkeʊk]
float [fleʊt], *go* [geʊ], *pony* [peʊnɪ], [pʊnɪ],
know [neʊ], *don't* [deʊnt].

Wise lists the above change as one characteristic of southern British speech.³

- [ou] to [ə], or [ʌ]
whole [həl], [hʌl]
- [ɔɪ] to [oɪ], [oə]
boiled [boɪld], *boy* [boɪ], *oysters* [oɪstəz],
oil [oəl],
- [ɔ] to [ou]
called [kould], *frog*⁴ [froug], *ball* [bouɪ], *along* [əloug]

CONSONANTS

In general, the treatment of *r* resembled the patterns of Southern American English. Among the younger generation the *r* was pronounced quite vigorously after [ɔ], as in *dark* [dɔrk] and *park* [pɔrk]. The change in these words from [ɑ] to [ɔ] was mentioned previously.

r = *r* intervocally as in *marry* [mæri], and *very* [veri]. However, in the proper name, *Cherry Point*, [tʃɛɪ poɪnt] was heard more often than [tʃɛɪ pɔɪnt]

r = *r* at the end of a word when the word was followed by another word beginning with a vowel, *teacher is* [titʃɛɪz]. While this treatment of *r* was not consistent with all informants, it occurred often enough to be surprising, since only a limited number of careful speakers of Southern American speech consistently use the so-called linking *r*.

Final *r* and preconsonantal *r* in unstressed syllables became [ə] or it was dropped completely by the older informants.

Examples: *I took my Ford car for to go fishing.*

[aɪ tʌk mɪ fɔʊd kɔ fə tə ɡeʊ fɪʃɪŋ]

Dark Pony ran faster and faster.

[dɔrk pʊni ræn fæʔtərən fæʔtə]

He was a teacher in the school at the time of the war.

hi wəz ə titʃɔːrɪn ðə skul ət ðə tʊɪm əv ðə wɔː]

The use of *r* in these positions was more common among the children.

The omission of *r* was noted earlier in the following words.

bear [bæɪ:], *stairs* [stæɪ:z], *hair* [hæɪ:], [hɑ],

bare [bæɪ:], [bɑ], *retire* [rɪtə], *gears* [ɡjʌz]

The central vowel [ɜ] was occasionally [ʌɜ]. When the *r* coloring was used, it was markedly retracted. In the examples given in the section for the vowel [ɜ], the [ʌɜ] treatment was discussed, *girl* [ɡʌɜl]. Three informants used the British [æɜ], [ɛɜ] for *were*, [wɜ].

³Wise, p. 241.

⁴*Frog* is pronounced with [ɑ] in many parts of the United States.

OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES

- [ŋ] to [n] in present participial endings.
fishing [fiʃɪn], *steering* [stɛərən], *flowing* [fləʊɪn]
 [n] to [ŋ] as in *mountain* [mæʔuntɪŋ], *kitchen* [kɪtʃɪŋ].

Unvoicing of final voiced consonants as in *held* [hɪlt], *twelve* [twɛlf], *hundred* [hʌndɛt], and *spilled* [spɪlt], *salad* [sælɪt].
 [h] was occasionally used in an emphatic *it*. *Hit's flowing water now*. (High tide) [hɪts fləʊɪn wɔtə nəʔʊ]. [h] was used on *andiron* [hendɪrən] by two informants.

Final voiceless consonants were frequently omitted. *last* [læʔs], *cast* [kæʔs], *crept* [krep], *guest* [ges].

MISCELLANEOUS WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

Right much, right many

An unusual amount or number.

Creek [kɪrk]

In the United States principally, this word is used to designate a stream of water smaller than a river, but larger than a brook. On Ocracoke the word is used for a small inlet or bay, narrower and extending farther inland than a cove. This usage is in keeping with the older definition of the word. The harbor, around which the village of Ocracoke is built, was originally called *Cockle Creek*. Many of the older inhabitants still refer to it in this manner rather than use the newer name, *Silver Lake*.

Speckled biscuits

Biscuits made with cracklings, a residue of fat (especially hogs) after the lard has been removed by frying.

Sunday Bible

A Sears, Roebuck catalogue.

Comforter

A heavy quilt or cotton pad.

ewe [jo]

This pronunciation of the word for a female sheep was reported by Mr. Theodore Ronthaler, principal of the Ocracoke School, as the only one in common usage on the island. We recorded it twice in response to direct questions. Sheep are not raised on the island; so the word does not occur in general conversations.

Chimly

For *chimney*

Mommick

A physical beating or a severe tongue lashing. This word has been mentioned by several writers and by numerous visitors to the island, but it was heard only once. The speaker referred to the waves in a rough sea *mommicking the fishing pier*.

Breezing up

The wind is rising, or a squall is approaching.

Stove up

Partially incapacitated from over exercise or injury.

The wind is cam [kæm]

The wind is calm.

Yaupon [jopan]

A species of holly native to the southern United States. The pronunciation recorded on Ocracoke was similar to the one heard in Louisiana and Mississippi. The islanders used to make tea from the yaupon leaves.

Noble

Noble is used as an adjective to describe a person of imposing physique. *He is a noble man* means he is a large or imposing man. One informant used it in a slightly different sense. *She asked some great nobles for to come to the party*. The *great nobles*, she explained, were people of wealth and social prominence from New York.

I cook everything to my own notion.

This expression was particularly interesting because it contained several of the variants heard on Ocracoke.

[ʌi kʊk evri θɪn tə mi eʊn:ɛʊʃɪn]

To my knowings, no house has blown down.

A discussion of hurricanes and the resulting damage initiated this sentence.

[tə mi nəʊnz nəʊ haɪst he blu:dəɪn]

We have no rain water for to make ice.

Attempts to drill wells have been unsuccessful, so all drinking water and water for ice must be stored in large cisterns. A prolonged dry spell means that water must be rationed.

Pick the Joe Bell flowers up abreast the fence.

The use of *up abreast* for *alongside* or *beside* is a common expression. A *Joe Bell* flower is the gaillardia or blanket flower that grows profusely in the sand. It was affectionately named for Mr. Joe Bell who brought it to the inland.

Running up like a briar

He is growing rapidly.

A lot of people to Atlantic say "vine" for "wine."

The use of *to* in a locative was common.

Pay no account to.

Take no notice of . . .

SUMMARY

The speech of the native inhabitants of Ocracoke is characterized by inconsistencies in the individuals and in the informants collectively. There was no striking difference between their speech and that of the inhabitants of the coastal areas. The treatment of *r* approached that of Southern American and Southern British speakers. The prolongation of vowels was not as marked as it is in the South Atlantic and Gulf states. Specific treatments of sounds appeared to be remnants of Irish and Scotch ancestry. One vowel variant resembled a sound used by recent immigrants from the Berkshire and Cornwall areas in England. The vocabularies of the older inhabitants retained many words and expressions in common usage in the nineteenth century.



NEWS AND NOTES

DON STREETER

As a special feature for this, my last contribution as editor of *News and Notes*, I thought I would inquire about your activities as public speakers. I sent out my usual batch of about 300 questionnaires to sustaining members and others whom I thought of. Only 34 of you have sent back answers at this time. Those answers, however, give me a small idea about your speaking activities. Here are some figures:

Number of speeches by 34 speakers during 1959.....	673
Speeches delivered to Service groups.....	92
Sermons	316
Speeches delivered to Civic groups.....	60
To professional speech and drama organizations.....	35
Commencement addresses.....	6
After-dinner speeches.....	49

It would seem that we tend to average about 20 speeches apiece per year. However, if we subtract the sermons presented by two of our members who are doing full-time pastoral work, which means from 2 to 3 sermons per week, we average about 10 speeches apiece. We tend to appear about 3 times a year to service groups, and a couple of times to civic groups. We get asked to speak at banquets between 1 and 2 times a year, and a few of us get out on the commencement circuit.

This is not the complete picture, to be sure, and the sample surely is not representative. It is my guess, however, that as a group of teachers we probably tend to do more speaking ourselves than groups of teachers in other academic disciplines.

Now, before I list the information about you and your departments that I got, let me comment on something that amazes me here in Houston.

Surely I have seen active high school participation in our field, and I have seen superior work. It was the case in South Dakota and Minnesota and Iowa where I went to school. Many of you know the quality of work done in Memphis and Miami and other cities. But you should see what the high schools do here in Houston. The tradition of superior productions is something which is well established. I can't see all their offerings, but when I do see one it is outstanding. I saw *Diary of Anne Frank* and it was so good both technically and histrionically that I had the thrill that one gets in being present when fine theatre is being presented. Then last week I saw a high school production of *Meet Me In St. Louis*. There was a pit orchestra of 22 pieces that was top quality. The settings and the more than 400 different costumes were lovely. The soloists were very capable, especially one girl who could really "belt out" a song. There were 36 dancers who had been professionally trained. A chorus of 40 singers filled the auditorium with sound. Four performances with a packed house of more than a thousand people each night did not meet the demand for tickets.

At the same time, theatre is not the only extensive activity. There is some kind of speech meet—tournaments of 500 students or festivals or congresses—every weekend from about mid-October to May. As I say, I was just not prepared to see this kind and quality of activity.

And now for some notes, by states:

ALABAMA. *Buckminster Ranney*, director of the Speech and Hearing Clinic at Auburn, presents periodically a first aid course entitled "How to Kill your Child" to mother's clubs as a recruiting device. *Allen Bales* of Alabama, completed his Ph.D. last August at Northwestern, and has been promoted to Associate Professor. *Bill Smith* of Auburn, has made repeated appearances on television, such as a high school course, in speech, discussion groups, poetry readings, and interviews. *Al Yeomans*, of Howard College, lectured for a sales training organization at General Motors Training Centers in Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Charlotte. He also wrote and produced a Pontiac Musical Comedy at Birmingham. *Jim Mason* has moved from Indian Springs School in Helena, to Indiana State Teachers College at Terre Haute. *Frank Davis* writes from Auburn that he burns with a pet peeve over those organizations which call up a speech man and expect him to be ready to give a speech the following night!

ARKANSAS. *Marguerite Metcalf* of Little Rock has completed her fourth annual public speaking course for Southwest Bell Telephone Company. *Evan Ulrey* of Harding College has composed a "reading" sermon which is made up entirely of scripture in narrative style.

FLORIDA. *Robert Keyworth* has joined the theatre staff at the University. *Charles Ritter* of Stetson has had two plays, entitled "The Neighbors" and "Money, Love and Other Things" presented by the Theatre Guild at Webster Groves, Missouri and the Theatre Workshop in Seattle, Washington. *Bruce Griffiths* has returned to Stetson's Stover Theatre after a year's leave to do graduate work at Indiana U. *Miss Val Keller* of Lakeland Jr. High has 165 speech students in 6 class periods. She used 64 of them in a Christmas production of choral reading. 1400 people heard it in two performances.

GEORGIA. *Roberta Winter* reports from Agnes Scott College that *Elvena M. Green* is a new Assistant Professor and technical director of the theatre. Roberta gave the address at the Phi Beta Kappa Banquet this year, and she staged a couple of reading performances at Emory University. *James E. Popovich*, of Georgia, spent last summer as a visiting lecturer at the University of Texas. *George A. Neely* has recently taught a section of speech in a workshop in preaching at Emory.

KENTUCKY. *Nell H. Lockhart* reports a recent production of *Cheaper by the Dozen* at Valley Station High School. The former *Beverly Williams* of Butler High in Louisville is now *Mrs. Davis*. *Rena Calhoun* is back after a year of retirement, teaching 8 hours at Georgetown College. She spent all of last summer in Europe.

LOUISIANA. *Dan W. Mullin* has been promoted to Associate Professor at Tulane, where *Paul Hostetter* has returned from a year's leave of absence. At Tulane this year, the public could buy, for \$4.12, admission to *The Glass Menagerie*, *The Would-Be Gentleman*, *The House of Bernarda Alba*, and *The Playboy of the Western World*. Also, they could hear an imported lecturer-authority ahead of each play. *Margery Wilson* reports from McNeese State College that *Betty Hinton* has joined the staff with *Maurice Pullig* and *William Casey*. *Giles W. Gray* spoke at the Speech Association Professional

Conference at Lafayette, where he was honored at a surprise luncheon last December 11. *Joseph C. Mele* of Southwestern Louisiana Institute completed his Ph.D. at L.S.U. last summer. As I write this, I'm making plans to get over to Baton Rouge when they honor *Giles* later this month (March).

MISSISSIPPI. I keep sending my questionnaires to *Paul D. Brandes* who is now in his second year at Ohio University, but he keeps responding to my notes, for which I'm grateful. He has a new book in the making—a collaboration with William S. Smith. It's to be in the high school field. *Don George* reports from Mississippi Southern that he has been active in laymen's work in Methodist circles. Back to Paul Again—he spent two months in Europe last summer, studying at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris locating source material for a publication on French Oratory. He and Lloyd Watkins had a research grant. *Charles M. Getchell* was off the Ole Miss campus for a couple of months last fall, touring the North East Command for the USO—AETA overseas program with a group of student actors.

NORTH CAROLINA. *Franklin Shirley* of Wake Forest conducted a high school speech institute last summer, after which he went to Gainesville, Florida, where his Ph.D. was conferred by the University. *Joe Weltherby* of Duke assisted Frank with the above workshop. He also spent two weeks with the Military Sea Transportation Service at the Atlantic Headquarters in Brooklyn, and while there saw many shows. *James W. Parker* of Converse worked in a premier of a British mystery, *Dead on Nine* at the University of Virginia last summer. *Sara Lowery* is getting good response from her weekly television show at Furman. *Dorothy Richey*, also of Furman, has done a lot of speaking and reading: two solo programs of full length plays, missionary sermons. Thanksgiving lecture, lectures on Medieval Theatre and Theatre History, at the same time directing plays for Furman.

TENNESSEE. *Freda Kenner* of Messick High in Memphis wrote, produced, and narrated a Centennial Pageant for her church; she adapted and produced a musical version of *Seventeen*; she brought the Tennessee Area Thespian Conference to Messick; she visited the Stratford Festival last summer; and she served as chairman of the Secondary School Interest group in the S.A.A. last year. She also wrote that *Patsy Welting*, whom I remember as a High School student at Messick did a fine and thrilling performance in *La Traviata* at Memphis State this spring. *Norma Sykes* of Cohn High School in Nashville has performed in *Oedipus Rex* for the summer festival at Clarksville, in *Moon for the Misbegotten* for the Circle players in Nashville, and in "As You Like It" for the New Theatre in Nashville. *Mrs. Gerald McCulloh* and *Mrs. Calvin Izard* have the speech and drama responsibilities at Belmont College in Nashville. *Mrs. McCulloh* is reading a paper on Religious Theatre for the Tennessee Philological Society. *Mrs. Izard* directed Steineck's *Burning Bright* for Nashville's Circle Theatre. *Mrs. George Bunyard* left Belmont to go with her husband to California where he is engaged in atomic research.

TEXAS. *Merville Larson* sent me some interesting programs of their productions of *Picnic* and *Blood Wedding*. They have a practice of printing some feature in each program, such as the philosophy of the theatre program at Tech and the course offerings, and in another program, a list of major productions at Tech for the past 25 years. *Richard P. Douthitt* sends me the news from T.C.U. He notes that *Telete Z. Lawrence* has become University Speech

Correctionist, which means that she spends full time with TCU students who have problems in speech. They meet each week for a group session, and each has an individual half-hour therapy session. TCU was host to their annual Debate tournament again. *Harold Weiss* notes that he has worked with business men's and management groups. That's one of the things about the metropolitan area—business and industry want the speech of their personnel upgraded. It's true here in Houston. We have had five outside courses running this year. *Glenn R. Capp* writes from Baylor that their annual High School Speech Institute will run this year from June 13 to July 1. He's inviting *Thomas Rousse* of Texas, *Harold Weiss* of SMU, and *Elton Abernathy* to be special lecturers. *Rex Kyker* wrote from Abilene that he was chairman of the Taylor County March of Dimes this year. He has also served as speaker for the National Council on Alcoholism. *Willard Booth* of Southwest Texas has been granted a Danforth for 1960-61. *David Larson* will take a break in his job here as chairman of Drama to go back to Iowa for the production of his doctoral script. *Gerard Wagner* is planning to take leave of us for a year to work at Indiana U. *Auley Luke* will spend another year at Oklahoma. Our eighth annual High School Speech Roundup will run from July 18 to Aug. 3.

VIRGINIA. *Ralph V. Lahaie* writes from Madison College in Harrisonburg that he is producer of a weekly half-hour college program, presented over a television station with coverage in the Shenandoah Valley.

And that's it for a three-year term as editor of News and Notes. Thanks to the following people for recent items: *H. P. Constans*, *Roy Murphy*, *Roberta M. Buchanan*, *Loretta G. Brown*, *Paul Pettigrew*, *Bert Bradley, Jr.*, *Fred Brooks*, *Martin Landers*, *Edna West*, *Gil Hartwig*, *Bill DeMougeot*, and *Ted Skinner*.



BOOK REVIEWS

M. BLAIR HART

RE-ESTABLISHING THE SPEECH PROFESSION. THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS. Robert T. Oliver and Marvin G. Bauer, Ed. Speech Association of the Eastern States, 1959; pp. 100; \$1.50 (Obtainable from Wiley C. Bowyer, Executive-Secretary, Mineola Public Schools, Mineola, L. I., New York, N. Y.)

This thin, paper-covered pamphlet, for in size and format it is little more than that, is a compilation of brief papers which should be in the possession of every teacher of speech who is at all concerned with the immediate back-grounds of the profession. In view of its significance to the field of speech and its history, however, it is much, much more than a "pamphlet." Published on the eve of the semi-centennial of the Speech Association of the Eastern States, it presents in a well-partitioned series of twenty-two short chapters an overview of a highly important period in the re-establishment of the speech profession in America. Although that period had its beginnings, so far as any such era can be said to have beginnings, even before the end of the last century, the present work is concerned particularly with those developments that have taken place during the fifty years of the existence of the group here represented, and most specifically, as analyzed and described from their point of view. The result is a highly readable, human document that reveals the deep affection and high regard in which that profession is held.

In considering these developments, six major areas have been analyzed and discussed in from two to five "chapters" each. The first such area, for example, "Rhetoric and Public Address," contains chapters on "Rhetoric in America since 1900," by Carroll Arnold; "Rhetorical criticism by laymen," by John F. Wilson; "Emergence of a rhetoric of discussion," by Harold P. Zelko; and "Psychological influences on rhetoric" by Elnora D. Carrino. This section alone is typical of the entire collection of essays, in that it concerns itself perhaps less with tracing influences from the remote past than with describing the trends and developments as they have unfolded during the past half century, and as they are still in the process of growth.

There is not space even to mention all the separate chapters, but the list of major areas will indicate the scope of the entire work. Following the opening division, "Rhetoric and Public Address," come "Speech Sciences," "Speech Education," "Theatre and Drama," "Oral Interpretation," and "Radio and Television." Heading the chapters are such familiar names as Robert West, Charles K. Thomas, Evelyn Konigsberg, John Gassner, Ray Irwin, David Mackey and others.

On the whole, the papers themselves are well presented; for the most part they are amply documented, and together make an imposing contribution to an overall view of the movements in the various aspects of our profession over the past fifty years. I should have preferred to read more of the development of concepts of rhythm over the last half century, paralleling somewhat more definitely the general tenor of the other chapters.

The occasional errors of fact which inevitably creep in are probably of relative unimportance, depending somewhat on one's criteria for accuracy at the time. The Speech Association of America, for example, was founded in

1914, rather than 1915 (p. 50); and all the information I have been able to come by indicates that the SAES was formed in 1910. (See, for example, President Kay's "Esprit de corps," *QJS*, I, 1915, 89 f., and Wichelns' *History of the Speech Association of the Eastern States*, April, 1959, p. 1).

Woolbert's "Theories of Expression: Some Criticisms" appeared not in the first issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking*, but in the second; Number 1 of that volume ran only to page 104. (See p. 76.) As early as 1894 S. H. Clark was insisting on textual analysis as preparation for reading, somewhat earlier than indicated also on page 76. (*Proc. N.A.E.*, 1894, pp. 172 f.) A. H. Lane, writing in 1923, was therefore not the first by any means to attempt textual analysis. (p. 79). And it would seem that any discussion of "controlled experiments" in the field of reading should consider at least Woolbert's dissertation done at Harvard on "Effects of various modes of public reading." (*Jour. Ap. Psychol.*, IV, 1920, 162-185) The quotation in Footnote 4, page 47, is found in the *Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking* not on page 1 of Volume I, as indicated, but on page 95 of Number 1.

The statement (p. 76) that "Rush's book, *as you know*, (Italics mine) attempted to put the art of elocution into a 'language of unchangeable meaning,'" does not represent that author's actual purpose, as he himself pointed out. The fact is that *we do not know* that to have been his intent. What he actually started out to do (*QJS*, 46, 1960, p. 6) was to make an analysis of the functioning of the voice as one of the five peripheral manifestations of the human intellect. (See also Lester L. Hale, *QJS*, 35, 1949, 448-455) Old myths not only do not die; they don't often, it seems, fade away.

But it is probable that any reviewer could discover errors of fact and interpretation, depending on the reviewer's particular point of view. It is further probable that such discoveries as may be pointed out will not appreciably detract from the general value of the work as a whole. Those who are able to spot what they consider errors will know them as such; for those who will not see them it is unlikely that they will create devastating confusion. It is in my judgment a genuine contribution to the literature of speech; and I am going to have a more substantial cover put on my copy so that I can preserve it for a long time.

GILES WILKERSON GRAY

Louisian State University

PROJECTS IN ORAL INTERPRETATION. By Gladys E. Lynch and Harold C. Crain. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959; pp. xiv + 320; \$4.00.

In this well-organized book the oral interpreter finds a ready source of *working projects*. The many pages of exercises are sound and follow discussions of the important fundamentals. The book's format breaks down the art into nine manageable segments. The basic components for student focus are these, in the order of coverage: assimilation, analysis, physical expressiveness, voice improvement, improving articulation, control of articulation, control of voice, emotional control, and selecting and arranging material. Within each of these nine chapters specific attention is given to from three to seven principles. Each of these sub-sections is followed by a number of related exercises. There are in the neighborhood of 175 specific exercises clearly spelled out. Also at the conclusion of each sub-section are to be found references to additional readings. These bibliographies not only include the best available in the field, but specific pages are indicated.

Chapter one introduces the author's approach to the study of oral interpretation and differentiates between the various forms of communication. One interesting challenge that is thrown to the student relates to the fact that

"we live essentially in isolation in that no feelings, no sensation can be communicated directly or fully to any other person". The role for those who would bring understanding is made clear.

An exceptionally fine chapter is the second one, dealing with assimilation. Here stress is laid upon not merely understanding the meaning of a selection, but being able to make it come alive for an audience through having related it to the reader's own experience before presentation.

The authors meaningfully discuss the *point of view* of selections in the third chapter on analysis. They help the reader think through important questions regarding the audience and the material. When covering the organization of the selection they liken literary composition to brick construction. This imagery helps make their explanation vivid. Although their cataloguing of methods of organization is quite adequate, some might prefer greater comment on how to handle the basic problems thereby posed.

Many important aspects of physical expressiveness are touched in the next chapter. However, some of the discussion seems not to lead to the heart of the problem of bodily activity as faced by the interpreter.

The chapters devoted to voice and articulation are most thorough. Nearly half of the book is given over to these and the subject range extends from phonetics through British and Irish dialects.

The inclusion of "Emotional Control" makes a significant chapter. Especially interesting is a discussion of the handling of laughter. Following this section consideration is given to the treatment of climaxes and transitions. This might have been expanded to advantage.

The final chapter, devoted to the arranging of programs, includes some helpful material. Cutting seems to be a major problem for many students and could have been given more space. A bibliography of examples of cuttings would be beneficial. Perhaps more emphasis on selecting material of literary merit could profitably run through the various discussions.

More economical wording and the inclusion of a greater number of selections for oral interpretation might make the book more practical for undergraduates who have not as yet acquired extensive grounding in speech. However, one book can not be all things to all teachers. The authors have set for themselves the task of offering a book based upon projects that come alive through many usable exercises. It can not be denied that the book represents a successful manifestation of these efforts. This is an important source of projects for the teacher and a valuable contribution to the literature of the oral interpretation field.

KENNETH LEE JONES

Colorado State College

COMMUNICATION: PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE. By Charles H. Kegel and Martin Stevens. San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1959; pp. xvi+494; \$4.95.

"*Communication: Principles and Practice* is designed to present the freshman student with a year's work of integrated language study." The matter of communication at a philosophical level is glossed over rather quickly; the practical aspects of the subject are more fully developed and illustrated by numerous examples. Emphasis has been removed from pure mechanics and given to the realm of thought: the art of criticism, research, and open-minded questioning. Practicality is the watchword, as the reader is exposed to discussions of the uses and misuses of public speaking, journalism, radio, and television, for the purpose of informing, instructing, motivating, and entertaining, thus serving to guide the student toward responsible and effective

mastery of these media within the frame-work of our extremely complicated society.

The book is divided into ten independent units, beginning with the general idea of the nature of communication and progressing through the development of ideas to the varieties of communication techniques and methods. The first unit is brief discussion of communication itself, the skills of thinking, and the fluidity of language as the vehicle of thought, while the second unit becomes more precise in the consideration of the need for specificity in words and ideas. Continuing on, unit three shows concern for definition and the types and uses of single words according to context. The fourth unit discusses the stating of a single, central idea and its support by illustrations, statistics, casual relationships, with a concluding section on structure and function of the various types of paragraphs. Unit five considers the central idea in relation to the whole composition by a discussion of subject selection and outline, with a subdivision devoted to a rather detailed account of syntax and sentence economy. In unit six the procedure is reversed in a presentation of the techniques of condensing ideas into outline notes and précis, including a half dozen pages of useful tips on how to write essay examinations. Units seven and eight contain a discussion of Reporting and Research with emphasis on evaluation of reports and library usage. The process of research is treated mainly as a mechanical factor. Unit nine again shifts the topic, this time to the application of the facts and rules of rhetoric to oral communication in panel, symposium, and group discussions, and the duties of chairmen of such groups. This leads to the last unit which presents the nature of persuasion, its methods and techniques.

The coverage of each area is brief, necessarily so as it would be impossible to thoroughly treat the general field of communication in a single volume small enough to be used in a classroom situation. The authors have recognized this and seemed to have as a major concern the presentation of a few major aspects in communication, providing the opportunity for the instructor to expand and to interpret the various aspects included within the book.

A reading of this text would not make a student a skilled communicator, but it would provide an introduction to communication, needing the work of the instructor and supplementation by other materials as would most any text.

JOHN K. WILCOX

University of Denver

ESSENTIALS OF GENERAL SPEECH. Second Edition. By A. Craig Baird, and Franklin H. Knowler. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1960; pp. x+242; \$3.95.

This new revision of the highly successful text by Drs. Baird and Knowler retains the brevity and compactness which characterized the 1952 edition. At the same time, it has been brought up to date by replacing some of the older materials with those which are more indicative of present-day life. As noted by the authors, the revision "aims at teaching efficiency." This objective seems to have been achieved quite admirably.

Once again, the basic concepts and philosophy of Baird and Knowler's larger text, *General Speech*, have been incorporated in condensed form as in the original edition of *Essentials of General Speech*. Three principal bases undergird the present revision. First, speech is studied so that social activities and behaviors may be developed to maximum efficiency. Second, such maximum efficiency is dependent upon the utilization of effective learning methodology. Third, speech is a manipulative process, with ideas being the objects of manipulation.

Two popular features of the original text which have been retained are the main symbols of the phonetic alphabet and the speech performance scale. Among the new materials worthy of special note are suggestions for the teacher, short illustrative speeches, a key to guide in speech criticism, criticism charts, and guides for the improvement of speeches.

A valuable adjunct to the book itself is the series of three teaching films prepared by McGraw-Hill Book Company. The films are entitled "Getting What You Mean." Suggestions for the classroom use of these films in conjunction with the text may be found in the *Teacher's Manual* which accompanies both *General Speech*, 2nd edition, and the earlier edition of *Essentials of General Speech*. In addition, this manual also provides course outlines, discussion, and examination questions.

Organizationally, the format of the new edition has been segmented into five main parts in a logical sequence which aptly lends itself to a course encompassing a minimum of text usage. These are: "You and Speech," "The Speech," "The Audience," "The Speaker," and "Occasions and Types of Speeches." Being thus structured, the book is truly representative of the latest thinking in the field of oral communication. It aims at the development of competency and efficiency in whatever social context the speaking situation may be found, rather than simply the training of polished platform orators.

So it is that the many old friends of *Essentials of General Speech* will find the changes incorporated in the current revision subtract nothing from the overall solidity and worth of the original text. Rather, they will find its philosophical and pedagogical content virtually intact as set forth in the first edition. Those deletions and additions which have been made are of a purely complementary nature. They serve to frame the core materials in a present-day reference and to provide examples and illustrative content from the current social and cultural stream.

In summation, those who found *Essentials of General Speech* in its initial form to be suitable for their specific educational purposes will find the revised edition equally desirable. For those who have not made use of the book in the past, the new edition offers a sound and distinctive body of material for use in the fundamentals course and merits their serious consideration.

LYNN R. OSBORN

The University of Kansas

TEACHING SPEECH. Third Edition. By Loren Reid. Columbia, Missouri: Artcraft Press, 1960; pp. xii+424; \$5.60.

This book is addressed to "the beginning teacher" and "to those of vaster experience who still have a beginner's curiosity about teaching procedures, and a beginner's affection for the teaching profession." It shows that the author has retained a "beginner's affection for teaching"; it reflects his enthusiasm to share his experiences with others.

The preface declares that this edition has been "completely reorganized, rewritten, and reset." And so it has. It has been improved by revision, new facts, additional references, and recent courses of study. An excellent new chapter "The College First Course" clearly demonstrates that the author has broadened the scope of the book from the first edition (1952), which appeared under the title *Teaching Speech in the High School*. New chapters on "Discussion" and "The Lost Art of Study" have also been included. This edition is longer by fifty pages and two chapters than the second edition (1956).

The nineteen chapters cover what is ordinarily found in books on speech pedagogy. It considers course planning, alleviating stage fright, handling speech

defects, and maintaining student morale. It discusses how to teach speech making (two chapters), discussion, debate, interpretation, and drama. Both curricular and extra-curricular matters are given attention. The harried high school teacher will welcome the chapter "Planning the Assembly Program." The final section on "The Profession of Teaching" provides much food for thought under the chapter titles: "Finding New Sources of Ideas" and "On Planning a Teaching Career". Each chapter concludes with challenging assignments, searching questions for discussion, and selected references, carefully and meaningfully annotated. The appendices put at the teacher's disposal sentences for testing voice and articulation, a list of graduate departments of speech, addresses of publishers, equipment distributors and professional associations, and a list of long and short plays for high schools and colleges.

I believe that this book has merit because of four qualities.

First, it reflects the experience of a successful teacher who has taught a variety of speech subjects at several levels and who, in addition, has diligently sought out the best in the literature. He shares with the reader the results of his rich experience as a teacher, an administrator, an editor, and an officer of the Speech Association of America.

Second, it is based upon a well conceived philosophy of speech education which put first the student and his welfare and development. The author describes at some length ways to move the student along systematically and progressively toward proficiency in communication.

Third, the book is extremely specific in its suggestions and its recommendations. The novice is told what problems to expect and how to meet the difficult ones. For further insights he is directed to extensive lists of supplementary reading. Alert teachers will want to have this book nearby for quick reference.

Fourth, the book is written in an engaging style. It reads the way Loren Reid talks. The reader develops the sense that he is in the presence of an old friend and trusted counsellor, who has great sympathy for him in his first days and who is eager to help him find solutions to his problems. The reader will be delighted with the pertinent examples, the humor, and the epigrammatic sentences. For example:

"If you are not able to have a conference with every student, you must do the next best thing; show the class the kind of questions you would ask if you did have a personal interview." (p. 134)

"A teacher should put his best foot forward, but at first he needs to learn what his best foot is." (p. 262)

"Compulsion is a ten-letter word that we should respect more than we do Compulsion is motivation with its belt tightened. *Option* becomes *necessity*; *should* turns to *must*." (p. 389)

"Every teacher will have to present this material in his own fashion: some do it solemnly, and some with a light touch. All ways are better than leaving the student in the dark." (p. 30)

This edition is by far the most attractive of the three. The Artcraft Press is to be commended for its composition, workmanship, and printing.

This book is a superior textbook.

WALDO W. BRADEN

Louisiana State University

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPEECH AND THEATRE IN THE SOUTH FOR THE YEAR 1959

RALPH T. EUBANKS, V. L. BAKER, AND JAMES GOLDEN, *Editors*

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY lists the more significant titles in speech literature of the South for the year 1959. It carries publications from the leading fields of study, including books, monographs and journal articles. Listed also are significant published items of earlier date which were overlooked by the editors in preparation of

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	MwF	Midwest Folklore
AHR	American Historical Review	NCF	North Carolina Folklore
AHQ	Arkansas Historical Quarterly	NCHR	The North Carolina Historical Review
AL	American Literature	NMHQ	New Mexico Historical Quarterly
AIHQ	Alabama Historical Quarterly	PADS	Publications of the American Dialect Society
AmQ	American Quarterly	PM	Players Magazine
APSR	The American Political Science Review	PMHB	Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
AR	Alabama Review	PSQ	Political Science Quarterly
AS	American Speech	PMLA	Publication of the Modern Language Association of America
AO	Arizona Quarterly	PO	The Political Quarterly
CH	Current History	OJS	The Quarterly Journal of Speech
CO	Chronicles of Oklahoma	RKHS	The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society
CQ	Carolina Quarterly	SAQ	South Atlantic Quarterly
CSM	Christian Science Monitor	SCHM	The South Carolina Historical Magazine
CSSJ	Central States Speech Journal	SeR	Sewanee Review
CWH	Civil War History	SFQ	Southern Folklore Quarterly
D	Dramatics	SHQ	Southwestern Historical Quarterly
DA	Dissertation Abstracts	SM	Speech Monographs
DC	Drama Critique	SO	The Southern Observer
DH	Delaware History	SR	Saturday Review
ETJ	Educational Theatre Journal	SSJ	The Southern Speech Journal
FCIQ	Filson Club Historical Quarterly	SwR	Southwest Review
FHQ	Florida Historical Quarterly	TA	Theatre Arts
GHQ	Georgia Historical Quarterly	Tan	Theatre Annual
GR	The Georgia Review	TFSB	Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin
JAAC	The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism	VMHB	The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography
JAF	Journal of American Folklore	THQ	Tennessee Historical Quarterly
JMH	Journal of Mississippi History	TDR	Tulane Drama Review
JNH	Journal of Negro History	TN	Theatre Notebook
JP	The Journal of Politics	VQR	The Virginia Quarterly Review
JSH	The Journal of Southern History	WF	Western Folklore
KFR	Kentucky Folklore Record	WMQ	The William and Mary Quarterly
KHQ	Kansas Historical Quarterly	WS	Western Speech
LCQ	Library of Congress Quarterly	WT	World Theatre
LJ	Library Journal	WVH	West Virginia History
MHM	Modern Drama		
MDr	Maryland Historical Magazine		
MHR	The Missouri Historical Review		
MO	Mississippi Quarterly		
MVHR	The Mississippi Valley Historical Review		

the 1958 bibliography. Again, the listing includes relevant doctoral dissertations submitted in speech and in various other disciplines during the year 1959. If the dissertation is abstracted in *Dissertation Abstracts* or in *Speech Monographs*, the dissertation entry so indicates.

The list of journal abbreviations includes only "core" journals. In general, abbreviations follow the form used in the Haberman bibliography of rhetoric and public address which appears in *Speech Monographs*.

PUBLIC ADDRESS

1. HISTORY, CULTURE, BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbot, W. W. The royal governors of Georgia, 1774-1775. Chapel Hill. Univ. of North Carolina Press. 1959. pp. ix + 198.

Rev. by Robert J. Taylor in *Ohio Historical Quarterly* 68 (October, 1959), 433-4; by Kenneth Coleman in *AHR* 65 (October, 1959), 185; by Richard S. Dunn in *MVHR* 46 (December, 1959), 497-8.

A political history of Georgia from the viewpoint of her three royal governors.

Alexander, Thomas B. Persistent Whiggery in Alabama and the Lower South, 1860-1867. *AR* 12 (January, 1959). 35-52.

Arnold, Jack David. The Compromise of 1850: A Burkean analysis. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Illinois Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in *DA* 20 (November, 1959), 1894-5.

Presented in speech. "This study is an application of Kenneth Burke's methodology to the Compromise of 1850."

Auer, J. Jeffery. comp. Doctoral dissertations in speech: work in progress. *SM* 26 (June, 1959). 80-6.

Boorstin, Daniel J. The Americans: The Colonial experience. New York. Random House. 1958. pp. xii + 434.

Rev. by Charles A. Baker in *AmQ* 11 (Summer, 1959), 196-7; by Carl Ubbelohde in *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 42 (Winter, 1958-59), 146-7; by Carlos R. Allen in *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 43 (April, 1959), 252-3; by Louis B. Wright in *AHR* 64

(April, 1959), 668-9; by Philip Davidson in *JSH* 25 (February, 1959), 108-10; by Whitfield J. Bell in *MVHR* 45 (March, 1959), 653-5; by George Bohman in *QJS* 45 (April, 1959), 215-6.

Observes reviewer Wright: "Boorstin performs a valuable service in emphasizing a fresh point of view and forcing readers to justify their prejudices if they cannot be persuaded by his comments to amend their thinking."

Brewer, W. M. The historiography of Frederick Jackson Turner. *JNH* 44 (July, 1959). 240-59.

Burnham, James. Congress and the American tradition. Chicago. Henry Regnery Co. 1959. pp. x + 363.

Rev. by Robert P. Friedman in *QJS* 45 (October, 1959), 332-3; by George B. Galloway in *JP* 21 (November, 1959), 731-2.

Calhoun, Richard James. Literary criticism in Southern periodicals, 1828-1860. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of North Carolina Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in *DA* 20 (December, 1959), 2286.

Presented in language and literature. "This study is an examination of the literary criticism in ten Southern antebellum periodicals: (1) *Southern Review*; (2) *Southern Literary Messenger*; (3) *Southern Literary Journal*; (4) *Magnolia*; (5) *Southern Quarterly Review*; (6) *The Orion*; (7) *DeBow's Review*; (8) *Southern Literary Gazette*; (9) *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine*; (10) *Russells' Magazine*."

Clark, Thomas D. ed. Travels in the Old South: A bibliography. Norman. Univ. of Oklahoma Press. 1959. pp. xviii + 406.

- 36 (October, 1959). 525-6.
An examination of the period of greatest Whig power in Florida.
- Dow, Clyde W. ed. Abstracts of theses in the field of speech, XIV. SM 26 (June, 1959). 87-148.
- Drake, Winbourne Magruder. The Mississippi Reconstruction Convention of 1865. JMH 21 (October, 1959). 225-56.
- Ecroyd, Donald H. The Alabama Governor's primary, 1954: A case study. SSJ 24 (Spring, 1959). 135-43.
A study of figures, the issues, and the rhetoric of the Alabama gubernatorial race of May, 1954. Contains comment on the work of all the campaigners: James A. Folsom, C. C. (Jack) Owen, Lt. Governor James B. Allen, Bruce Henderson, Jimmy Faulkner, Henry Sweet, and Winston Gallatle.
- Ellen, John Calhoun. Political newspapers of the Piedmont Carolinas in the 1850's. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of South Carolina Graduate School. 1958.
Abstracted in DA 19 (April, 1959), 2587-8.
Presented in history.
- Eubanks, Ralph T., Baker, V. L., and Golden, James. eds. A bibliography of speech and theatre in the South for the year 1958. SSJ 24 (Summer, 1959). 236-46.
- Farnsworth, David Nelson. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations: A study of the decision-making process. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Illinois Graduate School. 1959.
Abstracted in DA 20 (July, 1959). 357-8.
Presented in political science.
- Fishwick, Marshall W. Virginia: A new look at the Old Dominion. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1959. pp. xiii + 305. Appendix, bibliographical notes, and index.
Rev. by Henry T. Shanks in JSH 25 (November, 1959). 529-30.
A state history containing some material on the roles of Patrick Henry and James Madison in the fight for Virginia and American independence. Says reviewer Shanks: "As the first of the new Volume three of the American Exploration and Travel Series on the pre-Civil War South, containing over 500 bibliographical items for the years 1825-1860.
- Cleary, James W. ed. A bibliography of rhetoric and public address for the year 1958. SM 26 (August, 1959). 183-216.
- Commager, Henry Steele, and Morris, Richard B. The spirit of 'seventy-six': The story of the American Revolution as told by participants. Indianapolis. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1958. 2 Vols. Vol. 1, pp. xxxi + 662. Vol. II, pp. xxiii + 663-1348.
Rev. by Rena L. Vassar in Indiana Magazine of History 55 (March, 1959). 89-90; by Dwight L. Smith in Ohio Historical Quarterly 68 (July, 1959). 325-7.
- Craven, Avery O. Civil War in the making, 1815-1860. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History). Baton Rouge. Louisiana State Univ. Press. 1959. pp. xiv + 115.
Rev. by Chase C. Mooney in Indiana Magazine of History 55 (September, 1959). 305; by Robert H. Woody in MVHR 46 (September, 1959). 317-8; by W. A. Heaps in LJ 84 (April 1, 1959). 1130; by Marcus Cunliffe in AAA 324 (July, 1959). 157; by Rembert W. Patrick in NCHR 36 (July, 1959). 390-1; by Roy F. Nichols in AHR 64 (July, 1959). 969-70.
A brilliant analysis of "the first cold war" which summarizes the political, social, and ideological causes of the American Civil War. Observes reviewer Woody: "Throughout these lectures attention is directed not so much to new interpretations as to a fresh emphasis on economic and moral issues, their interrelations, and the irresistible power of self-interest and idealism when properly aligned with the forces of progress."
- Daniel, W. Harrison. Southern protestantism—1861 and after. CWH 5 (September, 1959). 276-82.
- Doherty, Herbert J., Jr. The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854. (University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, No. 1). Gainesville. Univ. of Florida Press. 1959. pp. 73.
Rev. by Vaughan Camp, Jr. in FHQ 38 (October, 1959). 173-5; by William S. Hoffman in NCHR

series on the Regions of America edited by Carl Carmer, the volume sets a high standard."

Franklin, John Hope. The Southern expansionists of 1846. JSH 25 (August, 1959). 323-38.

Analysis of Southern expansionist sentiment on the Oregon question, with attention to key figures on both sides of the issue. Among noteworthy speakers mentioned are John C. Calhoun and George McDuffie of South Carolina, John Berrien of Georgia, and Henry W. Hiliard of Alabama.

Halsell, Willie D. comp. A bibliography of theses and dissertations relating to Mississippi history, 1958. JMH 21 (January, 1959). 56-8.

Henry, J. Milton. The revolution in Tennessee, February, 1861--June, 1861. THQ 18 (June, 1959). 99-119.

An account of the political struggle between the unionists and fire-eaters of Tennessee.

Hoffman, Edwin D. The genesis of the modern movement for equal rights in South Carolina, 1930-1939. JNH 44 (October, 1959). 346-69.

Hoffman, William F. Andrew Jackson and North Carolina politics. (The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science). Chapel Hill. Univ. of North Carolina Press. 1958. pp. x + 134.

Rev. by Robert Gunderson in QJS 45 (April, 1959). 216-7; by J. Milton Henry in THQ 18 (June, 1959). 174-5; by Marvin Meyers in AHR 65 (October, 1959). 187; by Charles G. Sellers in JSH 25 (February, 1959) 116-7; by Elizabeth G. McPherson in MVHR 45 (June, 1959). 135-6.

Reviewer McPherson observes of this work: "In addition to its distinctive role as a study of Jackson and Jacksonian politics, it fills a gap in the monographs on the political history of North Carolina—the gap between Albert R. Newsome's *Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina* and the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Herbert D. Pegg, 'The Whig Party in North Carolina (Univ. of North Carolina, 1932).'"

Hughes, N. C. The Methodist Christmas Conference: Baltimore, December 24, 1784—January 2, 1785. MHM 54 (September, 1959).

Jeffrey, Robert C. Men, movements and materials for research in pub-

lic address in Virginia. SSJ 24 (Spring, 1959). 154-61.

Suggestions of topics needing rhetorical study include key movements and issues as well as a number of orators, among whom are: Phillip Bolling, Joseph Cabell, Samuel Caldwell, Thomas Randolph, William Rives, Samuel Moore, William B. Preston, St. George Tucker, George Wythe, Edmund Ruffin, Henry A. Wise, John Tyler, Parson John Massey, Gilbert C. Walker, and Allen C. Braxton.

Kirkpatrick, Arthur R. Missouri's delegation in the Confederate congress. CWH 5 (June, 1959). 188-98.

The story of the thirteen men who represented Missouri's "Government-in-Exile" in the Confederate Congress at Richmond.

Knower, Franklin H. Graduate theses: An index of graduate work in speech, XXVI. SM 26 (August, 1959). 155-82.

Considerable attention to the speaking of key figures in the 1832 and 1833 meetings, with excerpts from various addresses.

Long, Melvin Durward. Alabama in the formation of the Confederacy. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Florida Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (July 1959). 279-80.

Presented in history. "This dissertation recreates by the study of affairs in one state, Alabama, the spirit and attitudes of the South in 1860-1861."

McLouglin, William G., Jr. Modern revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham. New York. Ronald Press. 1959. pp. viii + 551.

Rev. by Henry Lee Swint in MVHR 46 (September, 1959) 324-5; by Ira V. Brown in AHR 65 (October, 1959). 187-8; by C. R. Johnson in LJ 84 (April 15, 1959). 1267; by John J. Murray in AAA 325 (September, 1959). 146.

Writes reviewer Brown: "This book offers a scholarly analysis of that part of the American evangelical tradition associated with professional revivalists in the years from 1825 to the present."

Minton, John Dean. The New Deal in Tennessee, 1932-1938. Ph. D. dissertation. Vanderbilt Univ. Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 19 (June, 1959). 3290.

Presented in history.

Nevins, Allan. A major result of the Civil War. CWH 5 (September,

1959), 237-50.

A development of the thesis that one of the most important effects of the Civil War "was the conversion of an unorganized nation into an organized nation, with an irresistible impetus toward greater and greater organization."

Neyland, Leedell Wallace. The Negro in Louisiana since 1900: An economic and social study. Ph. D. dissertation. New York Univ. Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (August, 1959). 654-65.
Presented in history.

Olson, Donald Orrin. The debate in Congress on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, A study of persuasion. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Wisconsin Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (September, 1959). 1097.

Presented in speech. "The major problem in this study was to find the various means of persuasion used in the debate in Congress on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. More specifically the following questions were answered: 1. Who was being persuaded? 2. Of what were they being persuaded? 3. What means of persuasion were being used? 4. Did any other influences develop that could be used to pass or kill a bill?"

Preyer, Norris W. Southern support of the Tariff of 1816—a reappraisal. JSH 25 (August, 1959). 306-22.

Impeaches the long-accepted thesis that Southerners supported the Tariff of 1816 because they hoped textile manufacturing would develop in their section. Gives some attention to the arguments of South Carolinians William Lowndes and John C. Calhoun on the issue.

Quimby, Rollin W. and Billigmeier, Robert H. The varying role of revivalistic preaching in American Protestant evangelism. SM 26 (August, 1959). 217-28.

The purpose of this paper "is to consider the shifting role of evangelistic preaching of the type associated with Moody, Sunday, and Graham between 1875 and 1955."

Renfer, Rudolph Albert. A History of Dallas Theological Seminary. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Texas Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (December, 1959). 2258-9.

Presented in history. Founded in 1924, "Dallas Theological Seminary was the principal Fundamentalist educational institution to arise out of the Fundamen-

talist-Modernist controversy in American Protestantism."

Simkins, Francis Butler. ed. The South in perspective: Institute of Southern culture lectures at Longwood College, 1958. Farmville, Va. Longwood College. 1959. pp. 107.

Rev. by Louis D. Rubin, Jr. in JSH 25 (November, 1959). 526-8.
Second volume of lectures given containing six essays.

Smith, Richard Williams. The career of Martin Van Buren in connection with the slavery controversy through the election of 1840. Ph. D. dissertation. Ohio State Univ. Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (December, 1959). 2260-1.

Presented in history. Throws light on the rhetorical practice of the Southern Whigs in the 1836 and 1840 presidential campaigns.

Street, T. Watson. The evolution controversy in the Southern Presbyterian Church with attention to the theological and ecclesiastical issues raised. *Journal of Presbyterian Historical Society* 37 (December, 1959). 232-50.

Taylor, Elizabeth A. The last phase of the Woman Suffrage movement in Georgia. GHQ (March, 1959).

Taylor, Orville W. Negro Slavery in Arkansas. Durham. Duke Univ. Press. 1958. pp. 282.

Rev. by Edgar A. Toppin in JNH 44 (April, 1959). 176-8; by Barnes F. Lathrop in MVHR 46 (September, 1959). 315-6; by Chase C. Mooney in JSH 25 (May, 1959). 244.

Thornton, Mary L. comp. A bibliography of North Carolina, 1589-1956. Chapel Hill. Univ. of North Carolina Press. 1958. pp. viii + 597.

Rev. by Robert F. Durden in SAQ 58 (Summer, 1959). 505; by Robert H. Woody in JSH 25 (November, 1959). 528-9; by D. L. Corbitt in VMHB 67 (July, 1959). 365-6.

Based upon the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library.

Tindel, John Curtis. Public speaking under difficulty in Missouri. CSSJ 10 (Winter, 1959). 51-5.

"An account of some active audiences and unusual situations confronting public speakers in Missouri's early years."

Troubetzkoy, Ulrich. ed. Significant addresses of the Jamestown Festival, 1957. Richmond. United States Jamestown - Williamsburg - Yorktown Celebration-Commission. 1958. pp. vii + 75.

Rev. by Ralph Hardee Rives in VMHB 67 (April, 1959). 209.
A collection of twenty-seven addresses.

Van Deusen, Glyndon G. The Jacksonian era, 1828-1848. (The New American Nation Series). New York. Harper and Brothers. 1959. pp. xvi + 291.

Rev. by William M. Neil in Indiana Magazine of History 55 (September, 1959). 302-3; by North Callahan in AmQ 11 (Winter, 1959). 537-8; by Norman A. Graebner in Ohio Historical Quarterly 68 July, 1959). 310-1; by P. J. Staudenrous in Wisconsin Magazine of History 42 (Summer, 1959). 301-2; by Richard P. McCormick in AHR 64 (July, 1959). 967-9; by Joseph G. Tregle in JSH 25 (August, 1959). 394-6; by John A. Munroe in MVHR 46 (September, 1959). 309-310.

A survey of American politics of the period, including some rhetorical interpretation.

Walker, William Alphonso, Jr. Tennessee, 1796-1821. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Texas Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (December, 1959). 2265-6.

Presented in history. Examines the "nature of public affairs" for the period covered.

Richard M. Weaver, Contemporary Southern literature. *The Texas Quarterly*. 2 (Summer, 1959). 126-44.

Analysis of the "Southern renaissance," which, contends the author, "has brought back a truer image of the world and a truer image of man. . . ." Assessing the role of rhetoric in this "literature of true realism," Weaver says: "There is an intimate relation between the acceptance of the role of passion in life and the vein of high rhetoric to be found in much Southern writing."

Webb, Ross A. 'Do right to me often.' MHR 54 (October, 1959). 18-26.

An analysis of the social and economic conditions of Missouri in the 1830's and 1840's as seen through the eyes of migrant Kentuckians who went to Missouri for adventure.

Weisberger, Bernard A. Pentecost in the backwoods. *American Heritage* 10 (June, 1959). 26-9; 77-81.

Examination of the Great Revival of the West which includes material on James McGready of North Carolina, and Barton Warren Stone of Kentucky.

Williams, David Alan. Political alignments in colonial Virginia, 1698-1750. Ph. D. dissertation. Northwestern Univ. Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (December, 1959). 2266.

Presented in history. A study of "the domestic politics of colonial Virginia between the arrival of Governor Francis Nicholson in 1698 and the departure of Governor William Gooch in 1749."

Williams, Jack Kenny. Crime and punishment in South Carolina, 1790-1860. Ph. D. dissertation. Emory Univ. Graduate School. 1953.

Abstracted in DA 19 (May, 1959). 2935-6.

Presented in history. Includes a consideration of the criminal lawyer.

———. Vagues in villainy: Crime and retribution in ante-bellum South Carolina. Columbia. Univ. of South Carolina Press. 1959. pp. viii + 191.

Rev. by Robert G. Caldwell in AAA 325 (September, 1959). 137-8; by H. C. Brearley in MVHR 46 (September, 1959). 314-5; by Harry Elmer Barnes in JSH 25 (August, 1959). 387-9.

The aim of the book according to the author, is "to trace the patterns of lawlessness and the mechanics of law enforcement within South Carolina during the ante-bellum decades, 1790-1860."

Wright, Louis B. Intellectual history and the colonial South. WMQ 26 (April, 1959). 214-27.

Analysis of the varieties of intellectual history with suggestions of themes and resources for further investigation in the whole area.

Yates, Norris W. Antebellum Southern humor as a vehicle of class expression. *Bulletin of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association* 1 (Spring, 1958). 1-6.

2. PRACTITIONERS

ASBURY, FRANCIS. Hughes. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

AYCOCK. Orr, Olive Hamilton, Jr. Charles Brantley Aycock: A biography. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of North Carolina Graduate School. 1958.

Abstracted in DA 19 (March, 1959). 2329.

Presented in history. "Aycock was a persuasive orator, a skillful courtroom attorney, and a magnetic personality."

BERRIEN. Franklin. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

CALHOUN. Franklin. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

Meriwether, Robert L. ed. The papers of John C. Calhoun: Vol. 1, 1801-1817. Columbia, S. C. Univ. of South Carolina Press. 1959. pp. 469.

First of a projected "ten-to-twelve volume set" covering Calhoun's studies at Yale and at Litchfield, his courtship, his years in the United States House of Representatives, and his speeches in support of the War of 1812.

Pryer. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

CLAY, C. C. Nuernberger, Ruth Ketring. The Clays of Alabama: A plantation-lawyer-politician family. Lexington. Univ. of Kentucky press. 1958. pp. x + 342.

Rev. by Weymouth T. Jordan in SAQ 58 (Summer, 1959). 486-7; by Malcolm C. McMillan in JSH 25 (February, 1959). 123-5.

A life-and-times study which includes rhetorical interpretation of the two Clays, Clement Comer and Clement Claiborne, who became Southern "fire-eaters" on the eve of the Civil War.

DAVIS. Strode, Hudson. Jefferson Davis: Confederate president. New York. Harcourt, Brace. 1959.

Volume Two of Strode's definitive biography of Davis, which emphasizes the political and military years, 1861 to 1864.

DE BOW, J. D. B. Skipper, Otis Clark. J.D.B. De Bow: Magazinst of the Old South. Athens. Univ. of Georgia Press. 1958. pp. x + 269.

Rev. by Wendell H. Stephenson in Indiana Magazine of History 55 (June, 1959). 186-7; by Frank L. Mott in JSH 25 (May, 1959). 246-7; by Edwin A. Miles in MVHR 46 (June, 1959). 141-2.

GADSEN, CHRISTOPHER. Potts, James L. Christopher Gadsen [of South Carolina] and the American Revolution. Ph. D. dissertation. George Peabody College for Teachers. 1958.

Abstracted in DA 19 (May, 1959). 2932.

Presented in history. "This study traces the circumstances and direction of Christopher Gadsen's development from an imperial patriot in 1757 to the American patriot of the Revolution."

GRAHAM, WILLIAM F. Baird, John E. The Preaching of William Franklin Graham. Ph. D. dissertation. Columbia Univ. Graduate School. 1959.

Abstracted in DA 20 (August, 1959) 796.

Presented in speech. "This study purposes to investigate the nature of the preaching of the mass evangelist by comparing the preaching of William F. Graham . . . with the instructions for the pastor-preacher found in the textbooks on homiletics."

McLoughlin. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

Quimby and Billigmeier. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

HAMOND. Tucker, Robert C. James Hammon Hammond, South Carolinian. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of North Carolina Graduate School. 1958.

Abstracted in DA 19 (March, 1959). 2331.

Presented in history. A study of an ante-bellum nineteenth-century Southerner who "was best known for his writings in defense of slavery and as a propagandist for and practitioner of scientific agriculture."

HENRY, Mayo, Bernard. Myths and men: Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson. Athens, Ga. Univ. of Georgia Press. pp. 71.

Three case histories in hero-worship presented as the third book in the Dorothy Blount Lamar Lecture Series. Evaluates the three figures as shapers of American history.

———. Fishwick. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

HILLIARD, H. W. Franklin. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

———. Alexander. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

LOWNDES. Preyer. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

McDUFFIE, Franklin. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

McGREADY, Weisberger. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

ROBINSON, Neal, Nevin Emils. A biography of Joseph T. Robinson. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Oklahoma. 1958.

Abstracted in DA 19 (January, 1959). 1731.

Presented in history.

SLIDELL, JOHN. Diket, Albert Lewie. John Slidell and the Community he represented in the Senate. 1853-1861. Ph. D. dissertation. Louisiana State Univ. Graduate School. 1958.

Abstracted in DA 19 (February, 1959). 2069-2070.

Presented in history. This study deals with Slidell's position in 1853, his career as a national politician and his labors in the Senate.

SMITH, HOKE. Grantham, Dewey W. Hoke Smith and the politics of the New South. (Southern Biography Series). Baton Rouge. Louisiana State Univ. Press. 1958. pp. 396.

Rev. by Edgar A. Toppin in JNH 44 (January, 1959). 75-7; by Robert F. Durden in SAQ 58 (Spring, 1959). 313-4; by Steve Ambrose in Wisconsin Magazine of History 42 (Winter, 1958-59). 1445; by Allen J. Going in AHR 64 (January, 1959). 405-6; by Francis B. Simkins in JSH 25 (February, 1959). 135-7; by Chase C. Mooney in MVHR 46 (June, 1959). 157-9.

Reviewer Ambrose thinks that "Hoke Smith . . . is must reading for an understanding of the present-day South." (See this bibliography, 24 [Summer, 1959]. 243, under same entry).

STONE, BARTON WARREN. Weisberger. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

WILSON. Latham, Earl. The philosophy and policies of Woodrow Wilson. Chicago. Univ. of Chicago Press. 1958. pp. xv + 267.

Rev. by Louis Brownlow in APSR 53 (June, 1959). 543-6; by George C. Osborn in JP 21 (May, 1959). 337-8; by George C. Osborn in AHR 64 (January, 1959). 465-6.

———. Jennings, David Henry. President Wilson's tour in September, 1919: A study of forces operating during the League of Nations fight. Ph. D. dissertation. The Ohio State Univ. Graduate School. 1958.

Abstracted in DA 19 (June, 1959). 3289.

Presented in history.

WINCHESTER. Roper, James E. Marcus B. Winchester, first mayor of Memphis: His later years. *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 13 (1959). 5-37.

Reconstructs largely from primary sources the later life of an ante-bellum Memphian with some attention to his public utterance.

YULEE, Doherty. See Public Address—*History, Culture, Bibliography*.

THEATRE

1. HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Doris M. *The Passion Play in America*. AmQ 11 (Fall, 1959). 35-71.
- The Passion play, severely condemned by press, clergy and courts from its productions in San Francisco in 1879 and in Athens, Georgia, in 1888 by a Negro troupe before a Negro audience, became in the early twentieth century an entirely respectable religious exercise.
- BROOM, Bristow, Eugene K. *Charley Broom*. Variety manager in Memphis, Tennessee, 1866-1872. SSJ 25 (Fall, 1959). 11-20.
- Manager Broom made the low varieties a profitable venture.
- Bristow, Eugene K. *Variety theatre in Memphis, 1859-1862*. *The West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 13 (1959). 117-27.
- A review of the types of entertainment furnished at the New Memphis theatre (formerly Crisp's Gaiety) and at Odd Fellows' Hall.
- Caldwell, Joan. *Christmas in old Natchez*. JMH 21 (October, 1959). 257-70.
- Christmas as observed by the slaves.
- COOPER. Shockley, Martin Staples. *Priscilla Cooper in the Richmond theatre*. VMHB 67 (April, 1959). 180-5.
- Eickhorst, William. *The treatment of the South in modern German literature*. AQ 15 (Autumn, 1959). 217-28.
- Gallegly, Joseph S. *The renaissance of the Galveston theatre*. SHQ 52 (April, 1959). 442-56.
- Henry Greenwall's first season as theatre manager in Galveston, 1867-1868, with a list of plays presented.
- HERON. Humble, Alberta Lewis. *Matilda Heron, American actress*. Ph. D. dissertation. Univ. of Illinois. 1959.
- Abstracted in DA 20 (July, 1959). 411.
- This study assembles information upon a nineteenth century American actress whose first triumph was in California in 1854. Her fame began with *Camille* in New Orleans and St. Louis in 1856 and led to stardom in New York in 1857.
- Hill, West T., Jr. *Opening of Macauley's theatre, Louisville, Kentucky, October 4, 1873*. FCHQ 32 (April, 1958). 151-67.
- Knower, Franklin H. *Graduate theses in theatre, 1957*. ETJ 11 (May, 1959). 143-52.
- MAELZEL. Arrington, Joseph Earl. *John Maelzel, master showman of automata and panoramas*. PMHB 84 (January, 1960). 56-92.
- Maelzel's pioneering efforts had considerable influence on the panorama movement in America.
- RIGGS. Aughtry, Charles. *Lynn Riggs at the University of Oklahoma*. CO 37 (Autumn, 1959). 280-4.
- During his three years at the University, Riggs was poet, teacher, editor and playwright.
- RIGGS. ———. *Lynn Riggs, dramatist: a critical biography*. Ph. D. dissertation. Brown Univ. Graduate School. 1959.
- Abstracted in DA 20 (December, 1959). 2282.
- WILLIAMS, ESPY. Nolan, Paul T. *A Shakespeare idol in America*. MQ 12 (Spring, 1959). 64-74.
- Espy Williams (1852-1908), New Orleans playwright, struggled to express America in his plays.
- WILLIAMS, ESPY. ———. *Bright American minds, British brains and Southern drama: a letter and introduction*. SSJ 24 (Spring, 1959). 129-34.
- An account of the production of several plays of the New Orleans playwright, Espy Williams, near the turn of the century.
- Wyld, Lionel D. *The miracle play in America: an aspect of folk theatre*. DC 1 (November, 1958). 13-8.
- The survival of the medieval mystery plays in the missions of the Southwest is perhaps the oldest folk tradition in this country.

2. COMMUNITY AND SEMIPROFESSIONAL

Buchanan, Roberta M. Junior collegiate players. PM 36 (October, 1959). 7-8.

Characterizes the work of the Junior Collegiate Players of St. Petersburg Junior College, Florida.

Davis, Eugene C. Highlights in little theatre. PM 35 (April, 1959). 153-4.

Commentary by a free lance director on the work being done at a number of Southern theatres: Sarasota Players, Jackson Little Theatre, Norton Gallery Players of West Palm Beach, Pensacola Players, Daytona Beach Little Theatre, Little Theatre of Hollywood, Florida, and others.

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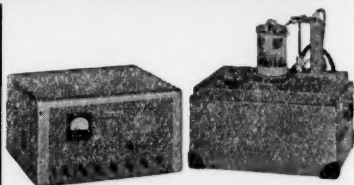
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Ehninger, Douglas W., Ph.D.....	Rhetorical Theory
Keyworth, R. A., M.A.	Theatre
Kirk, John W., M.A.....	Technical Theatre
Mase, Darrell J., Ph.D.....	Health Related Services
McClellan, Margaret C., M.A.....	Speech Education
Mohrmann, Gerald P., M.A.....	Debate; Public Address
Reynolds, Wm. M., M.A.....	Public Address
Sarett, Alma Johnson, Ph.D.....	Discussion; Public Address
Tew, Roy E., Ph.D.....	Audiology; Voice Science
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